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JULY 9, 1982

Joseph Sobran on
The Big Peace Demo
—See page 832

# NATIONAL REVIEW

## WHY NOT ABOLISH IGNORANCE (WHILE WE'RE AT IT)

JEANE KIRKPATRICK

## YES. THE GOVERNMENT IS HELPING THE RICH

YALE BROZEN

**ALSO:**

Michael Novak ♦ Francis B. Randall
John Lukacs ♦ Joseph A. Rehyansky
Brian Crozier ♦ Ralph de Toledano

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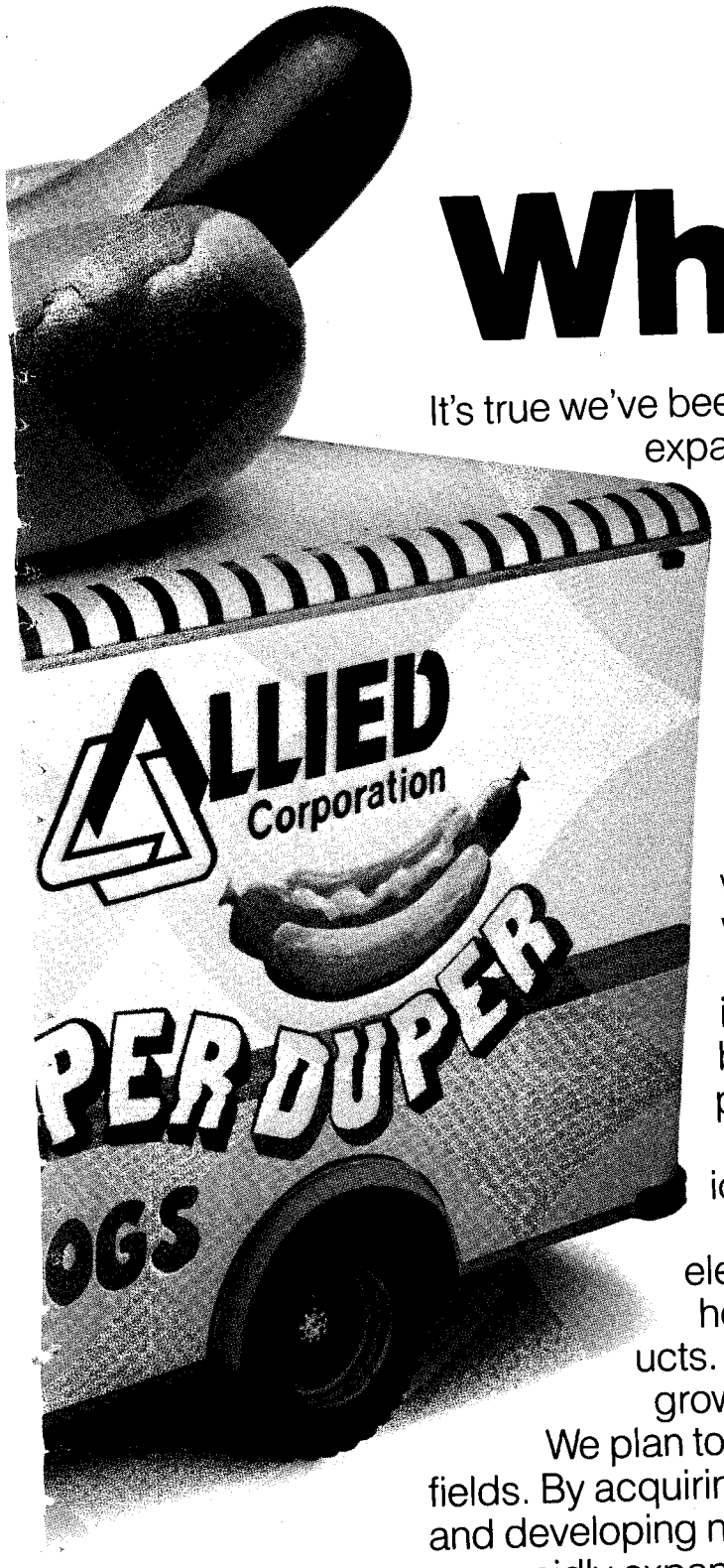


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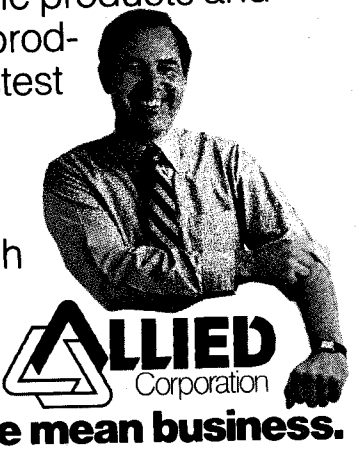

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# NATIONAL REVIEW

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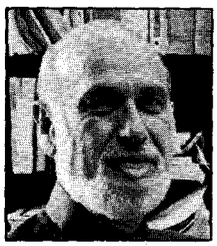

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Even your best friends won't tell you? The U.S., they're saying on the Hill, should give Israel a word in season. *John McLaughlin*

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The Soviets have a knack for getting themselves into no-lose situations—as witness the Falklands episode. *Brian Crozier*

**820 Government and the Rich**
Maybe you have a thorough grasp of supply-side economics. Maybe you've mastered Parkinson's Law and its corollaries. Are you ready for Brozen's Law? (You can be sure that Professor Galbraith isn't.) *Yale Brozen*

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Our UN ambassador reflects on questions she has raised without meaning to, and, making a series of basic distinctions, offers prolegomena to any future human-rights crusade. *Jeane J. Kirkpatrick*

**832 Rainbow in Central Park**
The organizers of the June 12 nuclear freeze rally in New York bellowed their goals for all to hear. Funny thing, though: in giving the event heavy coverage, the media couldn't quite bring themselves to say what it was all about. *Joseph Sobran*

**835 Have Gripe, Will Travel**
Poor Bill Kunstler . . . he isn't playing the big time any more . . . but he's still out there, preaching the word to dwindling provincial audiences who don't quite seem to place the name . . . (Kunstler? Kunstler?) *Joseph A. Rehyansky*

**838 Mahonyism**
A good bishop warns us, in the spirit of charity, not to "demonize" Soviet leaders; and demonizes our own. *Michael Novak*


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**840** What did FDR know, and when did he know it? **John Lukacs** reviews four new books about Pearl Harbor, and draws some fascinating conclusions. . . . **Francis B. Randall** hails a brilliant, heartbreaking book about the tragedy of modern China. . . . **Jeffrey Meyers** on a new biography of Thomas Mann (did you know his mother was half Brazilian?). . . . **Thomas Mallon** on a novel about befuddled English Catholics. . . . **Joseph Sobran** on two books about the Yale murder. . . . **D. Keith Mano** on Dan Greenburg's droll *What Do Women Want?* . . . **Ralph de Toledano** exults: Bix is back (and so is Clarence Profit)!



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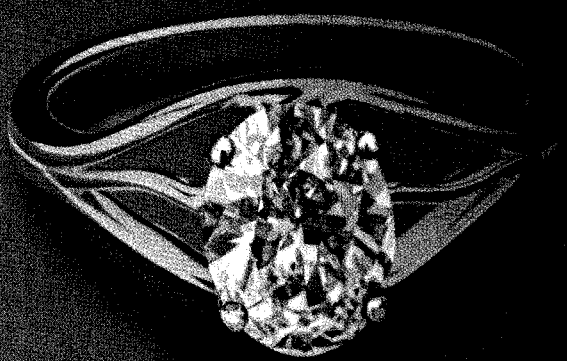

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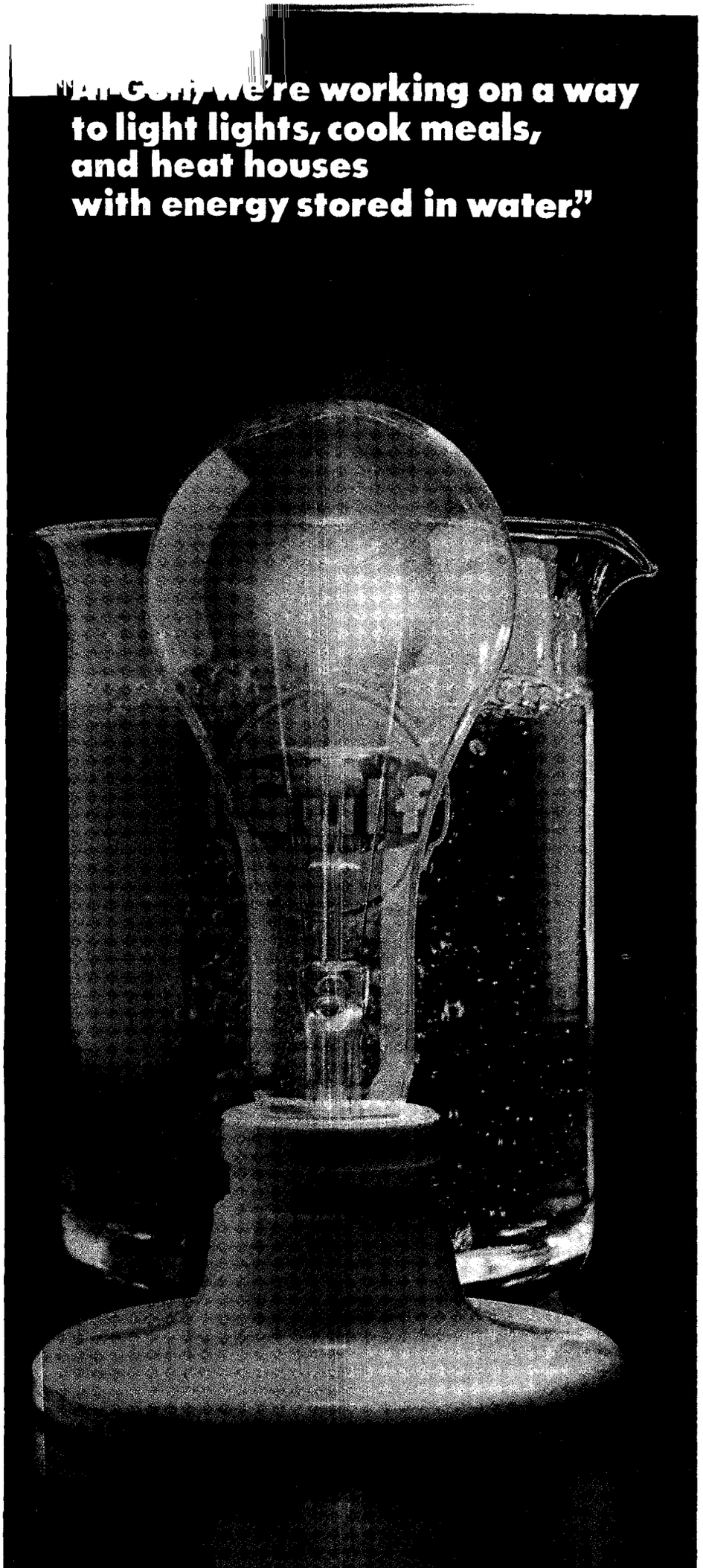
# "At Gulf, we're working on a way to light lights, cook meals, and heat houses with energy stored in water."



"You probably remember from grade-school science that water is two parts hydrogen and one part oxygen," says Dr. John Norman.

"Here at General Atomic Company, a subsidiary 50% owned by Gulf Oil, a project is under way in cooperation with the Department

*"There are 326 million cubic miles of water on earth, and hydrogen in every drop—a natural energy resource that won't run out."*

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Gulf

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# Letters

## Northern Neighbor

Congratulations to Lubor J. Zink ["The Unpenetrated Problem of Pierre Trudeau," June 25] for exposing the playboy of the north, Pierre Trudeau, as a socialist ideologue. Of course, anyone who names both Machiavelli and Mao Tse-tung as his heroes should not be investigated in a respectable political journal. To examine such a befuddled troglodyte, I'd suggest the *Psychiatric Quarterly*.

*Jasmine Robin*
*Neptune, N.J.*

## Kemp or Unkempt?

Jack Kemp's "Talking Back to the Skeptics" [June 11] correctly demonstrates what supply-siders have always realized about the connection between monetary and fiscal policy.

Economic advancement depends on the human qualities of creativity and motivation in the private sector. Through a reduction in the oppressive tax burden of the social-welfare establishment, these qualities can be stimulated, ultimately leading to economic growth. Given President Reagan's fiscal policies which attempt to do this, it should come as no surprise that the newly liberated private sector has come into conflict with the Federal Reserve Board's rigid and unperceptive monetary mechanisms. The results are evident in the current high interest rates which have, to a large degree, stagnated an impending expansion. The only solution, as Kemp says, is to provide the private sector with the freedom to determine monetary growth through gold convertibility.

The implementation of a system of gold convertibility would provide harmony between monetary and fiscal actions, magnify the success of Reagan's economic program, and lead to growth in the nation's economy.

*Gary B. Marks*
*Portland, Ore.*

Jack Kemp's fine article states clearly the need for fiscal reform. It is unfortunate, however, that his discussion of how gold was used in this country prior to 1933 is not accurate. It is true that a gold standard, properly handled, would aid in fiscal management, but modern economists do not seem to understand how this worked in the past. A gold standard should be put in place only *after* stability is achieved; to do so before would only exacerbate financial problems.

*R. W. Julian*
*Logansport, Ind.*

It is interesting and heartening to see Jack Kemp saying that Western civilization itself is at stake in the failure or success of "Reaganomics." He is absolutely right. What is involved here is not so much the economic health of the United States or even of the Free World. It is rather the survival of the values inherent in Western civilization.

There should be little question about it: the attempt to maintain the welfare state will lead us to travel the "Road to Serfdom" so aptly described by Hayek.

*Shelley Krasnow*
*Manassas, Va.*

## Moral Economists

Hadley Arkes laments ["A Lover's Lament," May 28] that President Reagan has focused so much attention on economics, a matter argued by empirical inference, instead of on social issues resolved by moral principle.

Through a more sophisticated approach, though, Mr. Arkes could see economic debate as more than regression analysis. In fact, every economic paradigm implicitly carries certain assumptions and claims about the character of man. These assertions can be cast as the universal principles Mr. Arkes yearns for in this Administration.

Supply-siders and neo-classicalists contend that man is a utility-calculating creature, continually measuring potential gains and making decisions as an individual. Thus, they are suspicious of bureaucracy and, on a deontological level, hold economic liberty as prime and aboriginal.

Keynesians (and radicals) envision man as less able to perform individually and needing guidance from government. To the Keynesian, economic decisions are efficient on a communal plane, and bureaucracies can be trusted. From a deontological perspective, the Keynesian is willing to subjugate economic liberty to communal or even egalitarian concerns.

From these bases, empirics are investigated. Differing methods of research demonstrate the potency and inescapableness of philosophical principles. Keynesians, with less faith in market decisions, create extraordinarily complex econometric models composed of thousands of equations relating sectors and variables. Friedmanites, trusting the individual and the invisible hand, find it otiose to ferret into the precise connections among all parts of the economy. Instead they trace the money supply.

When Ronald Reagan presents the case for tax-rate cuts and accelerated deprecia-



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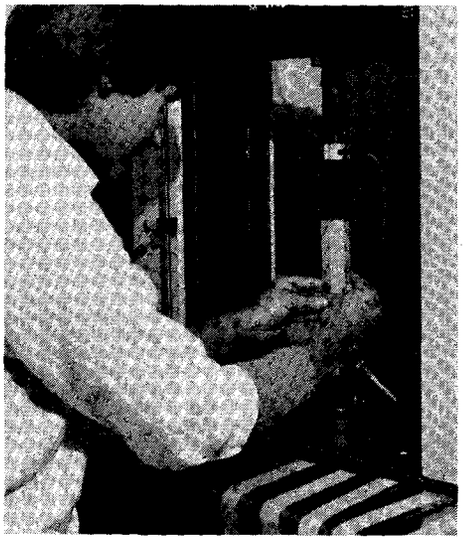

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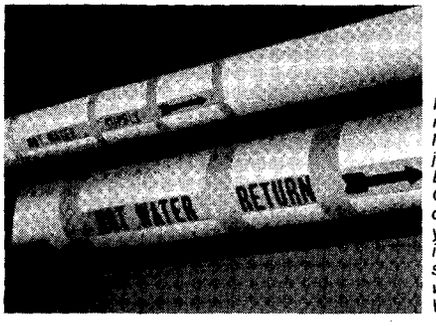


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tion, he is not just proposing a plan for prosperity—he is also positing principles that can be debated as passionately and embraced as tenaciously as any of the social issues Mr. Arkes holds dear.

*Todd G. Buchholz*
*Toms River, N.J.*

### Remember the Principles

This is to protest the reasoning of John McLaughlin in "Tilting toward Britain" [May 28]. Sometimes it seems as if writers are so busy avoiding being ideologists that they forget about ideals entirely.

In principle, the invasion of the Falklands was a more dastardly attack than that of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor. Pearl Harbor was an acknowledged military base. No one could conjure up a scenario in which the Falklands would be a threat to Argentina. It is well known that General Galtieri embarked on this adventure after consultations with only one person, the head of the Navy.

We were far too slow to condemn this aggressive act. How far we should go in active support of Britain is another matter. However, if the British actions are successful, they not only will have served to protect British citizens around the world; they will also have helped to make the defense of all Western nations more credible.

*Keith S. Wood*
*Danville, Ill.*

### Head of the Class

Re: "Sputnik II?" ["The Week," May 28]: Your point is well taken, but you tripped up on the arithmetic comparing laser research to the entire defense budget. Four hundred million dollars for laser research divided by $258 billion for the whole defense budget equals less than 0.002. This can be stated in percentage form as less than 0.2 per cent, but not as less than 0.002 per cent. Those darned decimals!

I always read *NR* carefully.

*Walter Schroeder*
*Cincinnati, Ohio*

### Global Government

Although I am usually in agreement with Brian Crozier's lucid analyses of international affairs, I must take exception to his observations in the June 11 issue ["Of Order and Chaos"].

While it is true that coercion through hegemony is one way to achieve a global order (however precarious that order would be), there is another way. Referring to his example of the European order after 1815, it was not the dominance of Austria and Britain that effected order in Europe, but rather a balance of power between the five major powers and, more significantly, a common geopolitical conception—a common sense of purpose—that was an outgrowth of similar social and political experiences. Under these conditions, na-



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tional stability became linked with the stability of the European system.

If similar conditions could be fostered on a global scale, harmony between nations would likely result and the foundation for global government based on voluntary participation would have been laid. Thus our task should not be confined to limiting the disorder of Soviet hegemonic ambitions, an inherently pessimistic and defeatist proposition (if taken alone), but to work toward a global integration based upon the social and political values of Western civilization.

*Richard Brown*
*Babylon, N.Y.*

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## Faith in Science

I would like to reply to Robert Kofahl's letter [May 28] criticizing Richard de Mille's article "And God Created Evolution" [March 19].

Mr. Kofahl asserts that the theory of evolution and the doctrine of creationism are equally unscientific in that they are both nonfalsifiable. This is not the case.

Clearly, no theory can profess to explain in detail the events of prehistory, any more than a theory can predict in detail the events that will make up any future natural history. What science can hope to do, however, is to offer a general description of the underlying physical principles that gave rise to our universe. Dismissing both evolutionism and creationism overlooks the crucial difference between the two explanations. The theory of evolution is based on physical phenomena observable at present, while creationism is not.

As a result of this distinction, it is incorrect to say that the evolutionary theory is nonfalsifiable. If there were no fossil record, evolution would clearly be a wrong hypothesis. If the species were immutable, evolution would be wrong. If the processes of adaptation and selection of living organisms did not occur, evolution would be wrong. The theory of evolution has passed more than one test.

If there is a "faith" involved in science, it is the belief that the physical world may be described by basic, observable, understandable physical laws. It is the belief that the physical universe is a rational place and that the beautiful workings of nature may be discovered and appreciated by the human intellect.

I do not claim that science is the answer to all the questions of the human condition. I do not claim that the theory of evolution is correct, or that it is in final form. But it is science.

*Kevin Gromley*
*Houston, Tex.*

## Apologies

*In the June 25 issue, a paragraph was inadvertently left out of John Simon's review. The section on* Diva *should have ended:*

*"As supreme praise, Beineix is pronounced to be one who 'thinks with his eyes,' leaving in doubt what part of the anatomy Miss Kael uses for that purpose. When criticism, here and abroad, sinks to this level, it tells us a good deal about our age, 'how remote soever,' in Peacock's eloquent tmesis, its subject may be from matters of importance."*

*And in that same review, in the section on* Mephisto, *the first name of the great actor Gründgens (the real-life model for the main character in this film) was misspelt. It should have read "Gustaf," the affected spelling that the actor used, rather than the more normal "Gustav."* —LB



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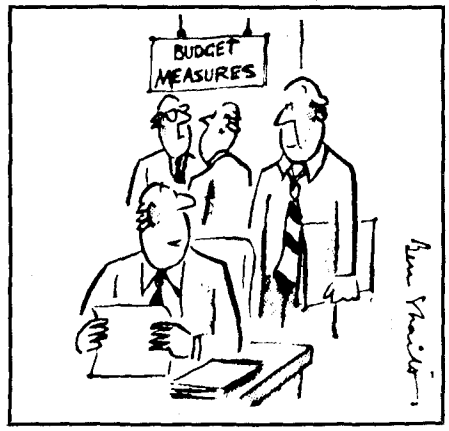
# FOR THE RECORD

■ Conservatives dissatisfied with **Ronald Reagan**'s performance on foreign affairs watching for two signs of renascent detentism. Will there be a Shanghai Communiqué II, further eroding U.S. support for Taiwan? Pushing it, say insiders, are Secretary **Haig**; **John Holdridge**, Asst. Sec. for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and **Bill Rope** of State's China desk. Clue to watch for: Will State okay continued Taiwan production of F-15E fighter past July 1 renewal deadline (see also "The Week")? Second: Will State get rid of hard-lining **Ed Rowny**, key figure on the U.S. disarmament and arms-control team? . . . Reagan has come through on domestic issues. Last week his bill on tuition tax credits went to Congress—**Robert Dole** sponsor in Senate, Reps. **Willis Gradison Jr.** (R., Ohio) and **Mario Biaggi** (D., N.Y.) in House. . . . Possible bad sign: Departure of Under Secretary **Norman B. Ture** from Treasury, following within few months the departure of the other leading Treasury supply-sider, **Paul Craig Roberts.**

■ **Kevin Phillips** is positively elated about results of early June primaries/conventions, in California (winner, **Pete Wilson**), New Jersey (**Millicent Fenwick**), and Virginia (Independent **Harry Byrd** pulled out, making Republican **Paul Trible** front-runner). This means, says Phillips, that Republicans in Senate will break even in Nov. or gain one or two seats. Phillips sees the GOP "very shaky" in Conn. (**Lowell Weicker**) and "shaky" in Utah (**Orrin Hatch**) and New Mexico (**Harrison Schmitt**). . . . In California, losing Republican senatorial candidates Reps. **Robert Dornan** and **Barry Jr.** gave Pete Wilson their ringing endorsement; Rep. **Pete McCloskey** allowed as how he was not greatly enthusiastic about the San Diego Mayor. . . . Should be noted: in California initiatives the voters continued Prop. 13 mood, voting to eliminate inheritance tax, to index state income taxes, to turn down expensive Peripheral Canal (and also, incidentally, to spend more money on more jails). . . . Political analysts now taking New York businessman **Lew Lehrman**'s gubernatorial race seriously since his smashing win at party convention (Lehrman got two-thirds of the vote). Still has Sept. primary against former federal prosecutor **Paul Curran**, but already rumors are around that Curran may back down. Democratic political analyst **Alan Baron** now says that Lehrman "has a shot" against Mayor **Edward Koch** in November—presuming, as expected, that Koch wins the Democratic primary.




Shailo, *London Daily Telegraph* Rothco

**"Fortunately burning the midnight oil is now a good deal cheaper."**

■ What a fortnight for the Left! Not only June 12 freeze, but Lebanon. Signs at gargantuan New York demonstration went from amusing ("Join the **Venus de Milo**—Disarm") to kinky ("Dykes of Hoboken against Nukes") to hate-Reagan ("Nuclear War Is Reagan's Whore," "The President Is Evil"). . . . Interesting Merit Opinion poll on freeze questions shows 44 per cent of the people think danger of nuclear war has increased since Reagan took office, against 39 who don't. Also, which should be of interest (and alarm) to Western European allies: 62 per cent would oppose first use of nuclear weapons by U.S. "if Russia should attack our European allies with conventional weapons." Only 22 per cent would favor it. . . . Washington, Conn., by the by, is first town in nation to reverse a pro-nuclear-freeze vote, under guidance of two energetic residents, **Michael Craig** and **Roderic Richardson**. . . . In Moscow, a handful of pro-freeze demonstrators got just what they asked for: within minutes they were in the cooler. . . . Then it was on to Lebanon with full-page Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People in Sun. June 20 *N. Y. Times*. Among the signatories (many of them Arab) were such out-of-the-woodwork leftists as **Richard Barnet** (IPS), **Daniel** and **Philip Berrigan**, **Julian Bond**, **Ramsey Clark**, **Noam Chomsky**, **Barry Commoner**, **Dave Dellinger**, **Nat Hentoff**, **Jesse Jackson**, **William Kunstler**, Rep. **Pete McCloskey**, **Ralph Shoenman** (remember him? **Bertrand Russell**'s guru in the senility years), **Pete Seeger**, **I. F. Stone**, **William Styron**, **Studs Terkel**. (**Daniel Ellsberg** apparently was too busy getting himself arrested in West Coast Lawrence Livermore Laboratory demonstrations to get aboard.)

■ Felicitous and infelicitous: **Michael Scully**'s definition of a neoliberal in *Public Opinion* which plays off **Irving Kristol**'s definition of a neoconservative: "a liberal who has been mugged by reality . . . [Scully addition] *and doesn't press charges.*" . . . Opening verse of Jewish Publication Society's new Book of Ecclesiastes: "Utter futility, utter futility, all is futile. . . ."



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# THE WEEK

■ France's finest chefs are steaming because Secret Service men were assigned to supervise them at Versailles as they prepared Ronald Reagan's chow. No doubt they rightly feel that this was a needless affront to their honor, considering that they have resisted every temptation to poison François Mitterrand.

■ It is this simple: the (inside) report is that the PRC lobby is getting ready to move decisively against Taiwan. The proposal will be that a so-called "Shanghai II" manifesto be published, reiterating that Taiwan is a province of China, but suggesting (this time around) that it is organically subordinate. There would follow (so goes the proposal) a recommendation that the Taiwan Relations Act be modified to provide, at some time in the future, for cutting off U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. When this proposal reached the President (it is reported) he sent it back, ordering modifications. Question: What modifications? How severe? There is no doubting that the PRC has moved mightily, threatening every kind of sanction, to persuade the U.S. to turn its back on Taiwan. Vice President Bush got an earful in Peking, and Peking's representatives have been busy, using their considerable network. Reaganites are betting that the same man who ordered tougher sanctions against the Soviet pipeline won't give in on Taiwan, with whose continued independence his political reputation is so firmly associated. But hang on to your hats, and let your views be known.

■ Six months ago, the Administration placed a ban on the sale of American equipment destined for the Soviet gas pipeline, and announced the conditions under which it would be lifted: removal of martial law in Poland, the release of political prisoners, and the opening of discussions—not moderated by secret police—among Solidarity, the Church, and the government. Those conditions not having been met, President Reagan decided to see, and raise: the ban stays, and has been extended to foreign companies operating under American licenses. The Administration estimates its moves might delay the Gulag Pipeline from one to three years. Groans from all the usual suspects, and an important and invigorating victory for Reaganism.

■ Acting upon what Chief Justice Burger, dissenting, called "a unique confluence of theories and rationales," the Supreme Court struck down a Texas law requiring tuition payments for the children of illegal aliens. While conceding that public education is not a "right," the majority held that "the inestimable toll" incurred by those who miss out on it was "difficult to reconcile . . . with the framework of equality embodied in the equal-protection clause." Well. On social, if not constitutional, grounds the majority may have a point. Given the porosity of the Mexican border, and the enduring mismanagement of Mexico, there will be numbers of illegal children in the Southwestern states for a long time to come. Which is worse: that they grow up illiterate and monoglot, or that the states run up a larger school bill?

■ A tuition tax credit bill is being drafted by the Reagan Administration, and a preliminary version has been circulated to the coalition of groups supporting the idea. The prospects that they will agree on an acceptable version are considered excellent. Opposition is coming from the expected sources—the teachers' unions, some civil-rights groups, the *New York Times*—as well as from an unexpected source: the staff of the Catholic Bishops' Conference. These clockwork leftists dislike the idea that Reagan will get credit for a successful bill, and they would rather hand Reagan a setback than see relief provided for many Catholic—as well as other—families.

■ Another myth about Reaganomics has fallen. This time it's the one about how the Reagan economic program favors the prosperous Sunbelt over the recessionary Frostbelt. Thomas J. Spitznas, an economist with Chemical Bank in New York, did an analysis of the overall impact of the Reagan tax and spending cuts in the Northeast. He found that the tax cuts actually help the Northeast more than the rest of the country, because Northeasterners have been paying higher federal taxes than everyone else for a long time. (Personal incomes are 6.5 per cent higher than the national average.) This tax-cut bonus is enough, Spitznas discovered, to cancel out any ill effects the spending cuts might have on the Northeast, leaving the net effect "roughly neutral." And that's assuming the spending cuts do any harm at all. Since a lot of that spending had been going to support the habits of the

## The Queen of Battles

Where the Elbe winds its way
  And the Wall's routinely cursed,
Russian planners love to say
  They won't push the button first;
And why bother, really, since
  All their infantry's in place,
While the Europeans wince
  At an escalating race.

W. H. VON DREELE



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## LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Even though the mail being received by members of Congress is running strongly against Israel, they generally have not felt emboldened to surface on the issue of the Lebanon invasion. Representative Nick Rahall (D., W.Va.) sponsored a bill calling for an immediate, all-party ceasefire and the suspension of U.S. military equipment to Israel. Other than the nine original co-sponsors and a handful of tell-memore phone calls from interested colleagues, his resolution has produced no rush of support.

Clement Zablocki (D., Wis.), the experienced, respected, and redoubtable chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, told the press that support for Israel may be "eroding," and quoted one woman constituent as telling him that "blood is on your hands, too, for having voted for military aid for Israel." On the Senate side, Chuck Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has told the White House not to send up approval notification for the transfer of 75 additional F-16s to Israel (cost: $2.5 billion).

The rest, largely, is silence. The reason for the Hill's public reticence, as can be surmised, is the punitive power of the Israeli lobby, which is especially intimidating in an election year. The remarkably audacious documentary "The American-Israeli Connection," on *CBS Reports*, is the talk of Washington; it probed the delicate issue of why U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East has been so tightly linked to Israel and why the Jewish lobby has such power in the United States. Although the airing of this documentary (June 15) did unfreeze some criticism of Israel by congressmen, such criticism takes place behind closed doors and *sotto voce*. Like the documentary, the point of the criticism is that U.S. friendship for Israel is now clashing with U.S. self-interest.

If a secret ballot were taken, Hill mavens are saying, there is little doubt that a consensus of both the Senate and the House would be for a cut-off of military aid to Israel, pending 1) a review of whether the aid has been used for a purpose other than defense, 2) a halt to the proliferation of Israeli settlements on the West Bank, and 3) a genuine willingness on Israel's part to negotiate West Bank/Gaza autonomy for Palestinians.

To date, the State Department has not furnished a draft letter for the President to sign, advising Congress that Israel may be in violation of the Arms Export Control Act, the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, and the 1952 U.S./Israel Mutual Defense Agreement—as the President is required by law to do under these circumstances. The delay in such notification is construed widely here as a temporizing stratagem of Al Haig's, who believes that public criticism of Menachem Begin is counterproductive, that to accomplish anything with him one must work back channel.

Invidious comparisons are being made in Congress between Jimmy Carter's handling of Begin in the '78 Lebanon invasion, and Ronald Reagan's in the '82 expanded replay. Carter realized that a failure to get Begin out of Lebanon would estrange the Arab community (a 5 per cent reduction in the shipping of Arab oil caused the gas queues of 1979), and Carter had the will to force that grudging withdrawal in 91 days. In contrast, Hill critics find Haig's "hands off Israel in public" policy pusillanimous.

■ At the White House, Meese people are hardly talking to Baker people, we are told, relations between the staffs having reached a new level of bitterness. Meese staffers complain that Baker's people continue systematically rolling out nuggets to the hungry press, poisoning the wells of Cabinet secretaries whom they don't like (and others), and in some instances trying to fashion public policy through manipulation of the media.

■ Forty-three-year-old Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia has become the darling of 1984 Democratic presidential aspirants as a vice presidential running-mate. Southern, conservative by instinct, ultra-savvy on defense matters, respected by colleagues, bright, always in command of research and data no matter how complex, Nunn projects the image of solidity and sanity. More important, he has real humor, as was evidenced last January at the Alfalfa Club's annual meeting here, when, having been nominated at the club's mock convention to head the Alfalfa Party's ticket (previous nominees: H. Humphrey, H. Kissinger, G. Bush), the Senator delivered an acceptance speech of such rare and devilish wit as to be extolled by the social, political, and governmental elite who call themselves Alfalfans. Nunn is keeping his choices for 1984 open—as well he might since, if he plays his cards right, many believe, he may wind up as not just the vice presidential nominee, but, eventually, more than that. No doubt Nunn has the caliber. GOP, *verb sat*.

—CATO

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funding-junkies in the state governments, cutting it off will leave the region doubly blessed.

■ Speaking in the New Orleans Superdome before forty thousand people, with Billy Graham on the platform, Vice President George Bush had some interesting remarks to make about the Religious Right. He said that the involvement of conservative Christians in politics is "an essentially healthy development. I think wisdom counsels us not to fear it, or to condemn it, but to welcome it." He added: "It would be very dangerous for society to condemn or to resist unthinkingly the fundamental impulse represented by this point of view. For that impulse, correctly understood—and however imperfectly it may be expressed and applied in some cases—is simply to bring the nation into a closer accord with the One from Whom all blessings flow." Although Bush was obviously concerned to put some distance between himself and some expressions of the Religious Right, he also and at the same time put a great deal of distance between himself and the Northeastern establishment on this issue. He was making an essentially cultural and political point, viz., that the religious opinions and cultural modes represented, say, by Bart Giamatti are not the only ones dreamed of in the American philosophy. For Bush, it was a smart move.

■ Soviet critics have warmly received Tennessee Williams's *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, but a *New York Times* reviewer thinks something is lost when Big Daddy is called "Bolshoi Pa," and we tend to agree.



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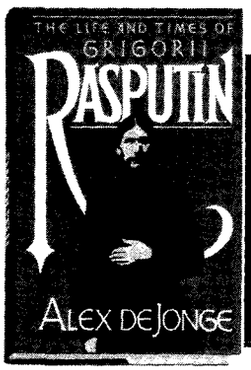


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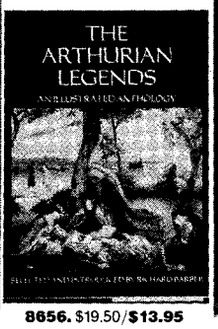


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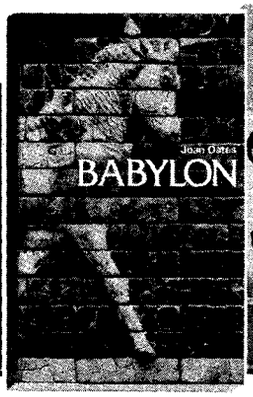


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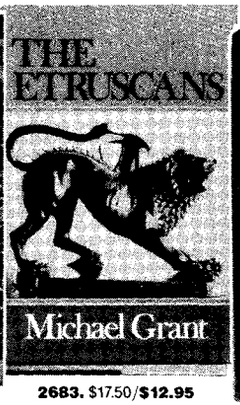


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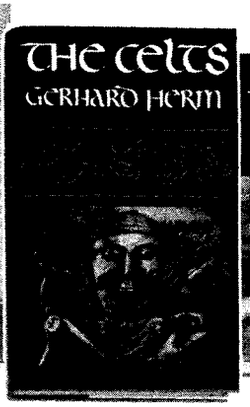


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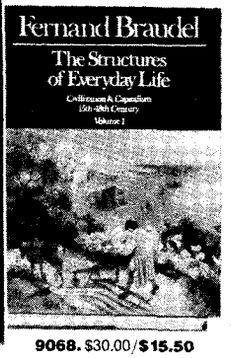


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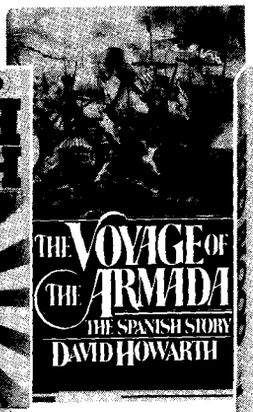


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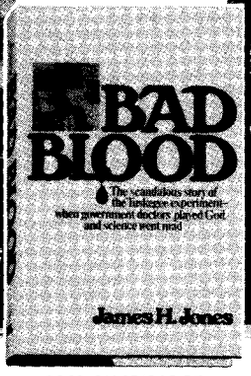


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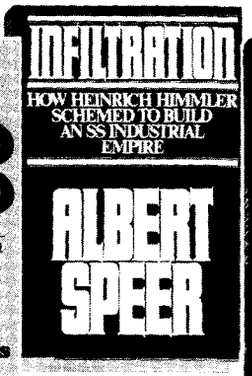


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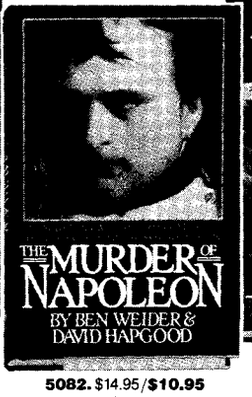


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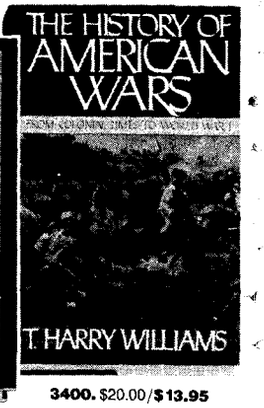


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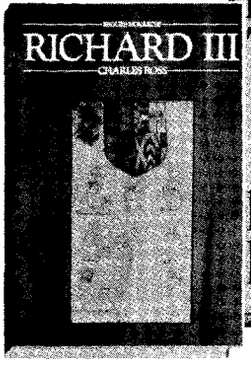


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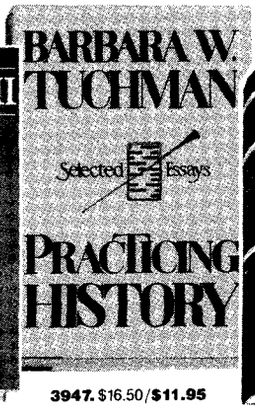


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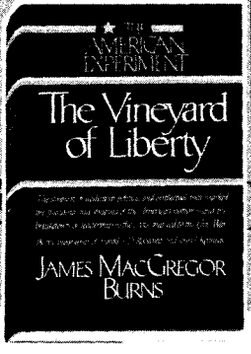


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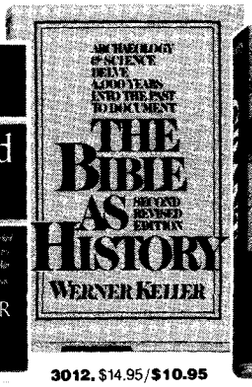


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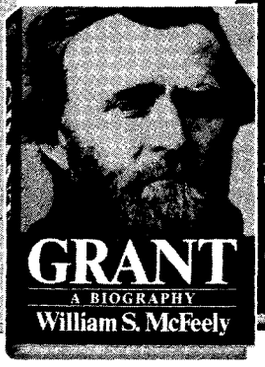


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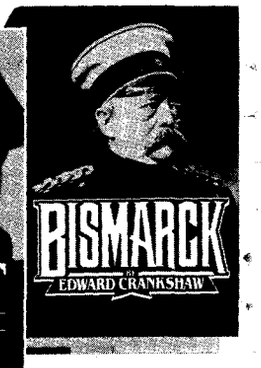


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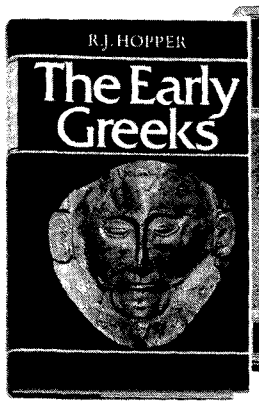


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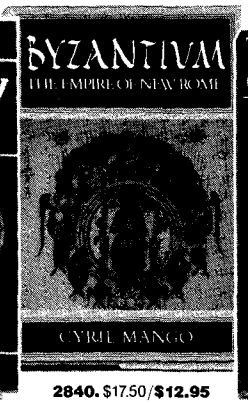


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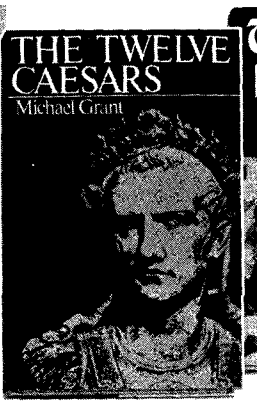


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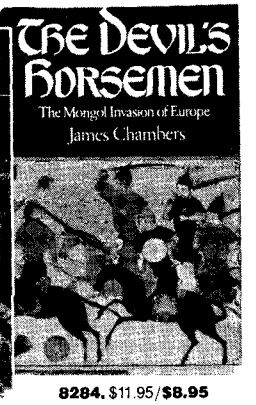


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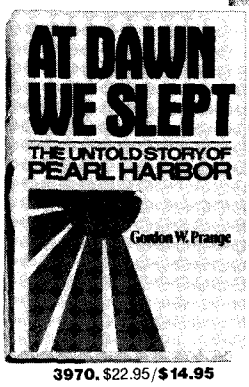


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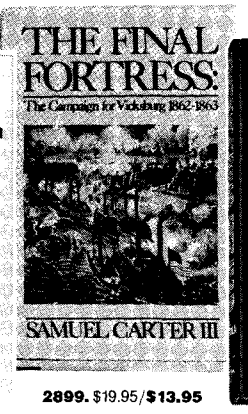


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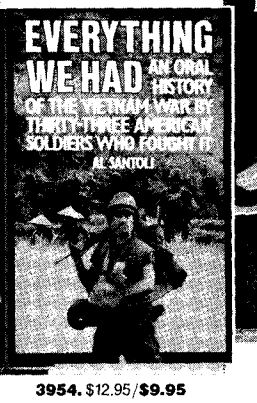


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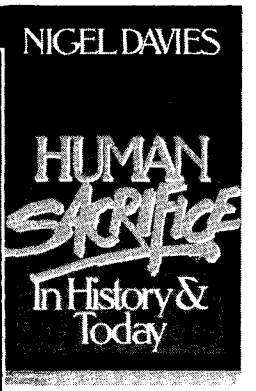


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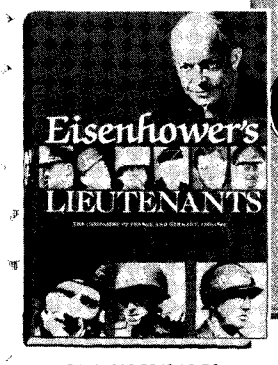


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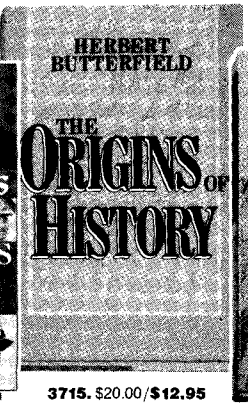


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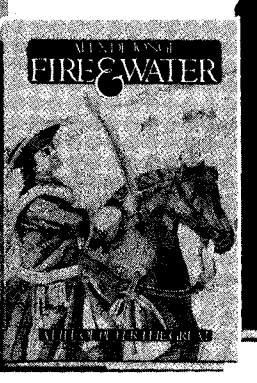


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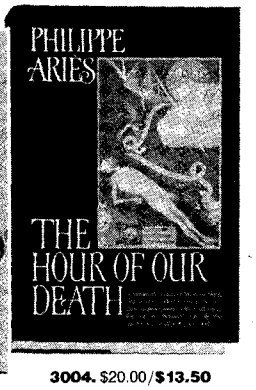


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■ The focus in the Soviet Union's recent nuclear-weapon tests was on coordination among an array of systems rather than on technological novelty in any one system. The variety involved included anti-satellite weapons, intercontinental ballistic missiles, an intermediate-range ground-launched ballistic missile, a submarine-launched ballistic missile, and an anti-ballistic missile. In sum, the object was to check on nuclear war-fighting capability—the point in numerous preceding Soviet tests detected by the United States. This time, instead of keeping mum, the U.S.—through Secretary of State Alexander Haig—made known the main facts for their relevance to the Soviet's self-abnegating declarations at the UN General Assembly's special session on nuclear arms control.

■ The Congress of the United States, in solemn assembly, has for the first time ever vetoed a regulatory rule, namely, the Festering Trade Commission's inspirational notion that used-car salesmen should advise customers that the cars they are about to buy are lemons. Needless to say, such a rule would not only be costly and difficult to enforce, it would deprive customers of the right to kick tires and slam doors and form opinions about used-car salesmen or legislators, none of whom would know a lemon if it nested in his nose.

■ General Wojciech Jaruzelski boasts that his imposition of martial law saved Poland from "civil" war, i.e., invasion by the Soviets. One may infer that the puppeteers pulling Jaruzelski's strings regard Poland as their own property.

■ A 62-year-old woman in London was killed when her metal-reinforced bra attracted a bolt of lightning. The coroner ruled that it was an act of God "if ever there was one." He'd prefer whalebone, maybe?

■ A contest in *New York* magazine, asking for snappy movie reviews, turned up this: "REDS. Warren Beatty, Diane Keaton. How the West was lost."

■ Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson has won a bitter runoff election against his former friend and cohort Earl Harris, president of the Newark municipal council. Campaign rhetoric was enlivened by the fact that both men are under a 141-count indictment for theft by deception and misconduct, in palmier days.

■ Congratulations to Argentine President Galtieri on being awarded command of the Port Stanley garrison.

## The Trouble with Weicker

He's abrasive in the Senate,
  But that's really nothing new,
And his manners are obnoxious,
  But they tell us Taft's were, too.
No, the reason he's the limit
  (You can check with Prescott Bush)
Is the way he keeps on kicking
  His own party in the mush.

W. H. VON DREELE

# The Pac-Man Syndrome

The congressional budget process is like Pac-Man: you can win at it, but it takes a lot of time and practice, and all you ever get is a free replay. The Administration won a round June 10, when the House passed a centrist budget resolution with a Republican label on it. Victory may not have resolved much, but it did leave the Administration at the controls for another round of play.

For the Republican minority in the House, the need to win both Northern Republican and Southern Democratic votes made it a question of the lesser of two weevils: if they appeased the Gypsy Moths, the Boll Weevils would scurry away, and Congress would pass no budget at all. Although such a breakdown could most logically be laid at Tip O'Neill's door, voters might still take it as a sign of the Republicans' inability to "run the country." (Former Attorney General William Saxbe once said the difference between the parties was that "the Democrats want to run the country, and the Republicans don't want them to.") That a Democratic House can be brought to approve a Republican budget resolution two years in a row should put these fears to rest.

After the budget is adopted, the next step is reconciliation, in which various congressional committees will have until August 1 to propose where to make spending cuts and tax increases to meet the budget targets. The tax increases, which are supposed to total at least $20 billion, are likely to have no trouble passing: the tax-writing committees are behaving like the little figures in Pac-Man that race across the board at top speed gobbling everything in their path. The spending cuts are a different matter. To make the scheduled $45- to $46-billion cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, for instance, the committees may simply make $2 to $3 billion worth of program cuts and then declare confidently that the cuts will save a lot more.

Figure-fudging, in fact, was even more ludicrous than usual this time around, since the players have finally discovered that they can shake the machine to get almost any score they like. The same assumptions and models yielded results that differed by as much as $8 billion, depending on whether they were run through the Congressional Budget Office's computer or the OMB's. Both Republican and Democratic congressmen



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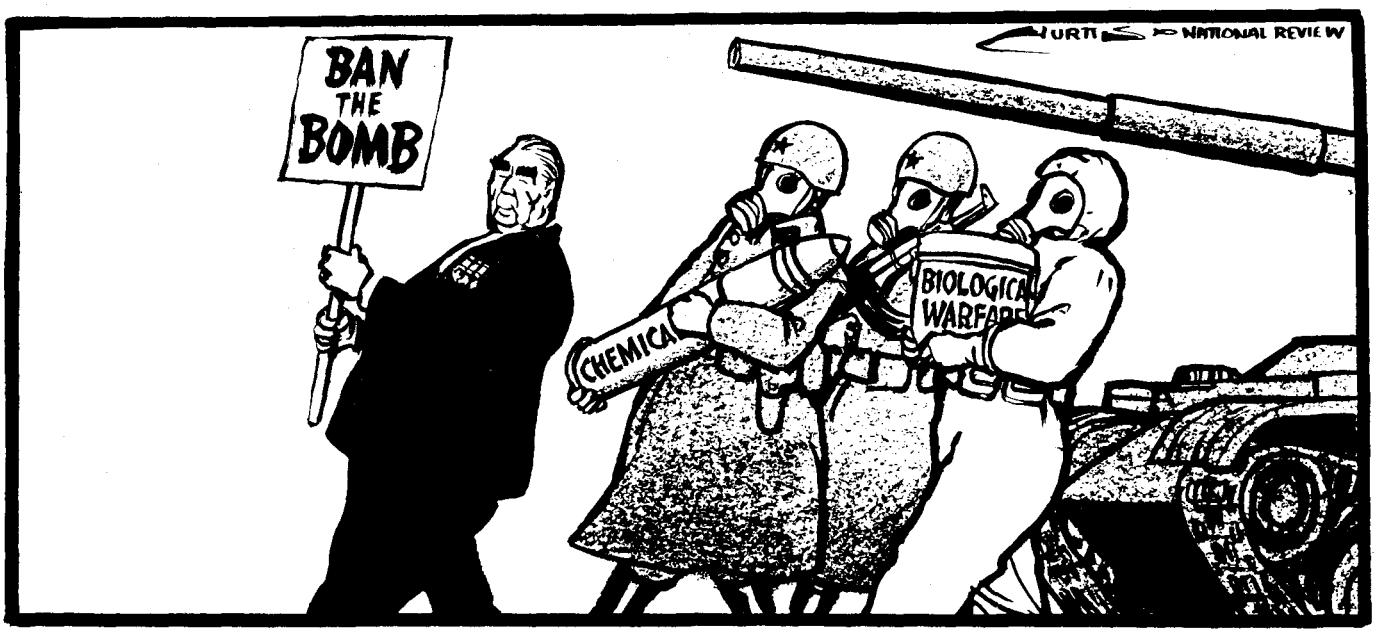


voted simply to ignore many of the projections that they have been paying the CBO to supply. Why not just put the CBO out of its misery?

## Who's Yellow?

Ideally a U.S. President addressing a special session of the UN would say: "Look, we have no desire to go to war with anybody. However, the Soviet Union has in more than six decades proved itself to be the natural enemy of everything that is decent and humane in the world and we are resolved to do whatever is necessary to defend ourselves against it." In reality what we got was not far from that. President Reagan addressed the UN Second Special Session on Disarmament with laudable candor: "The decade of so-called detente witnessed the most massive Soviet buildup of military power in history. . . . At the very time the Soviet Union is trying to manipulate the peace movement in the West, it is stifling a budding peace movement at home. In Moscow, banners are scuttled, buttons are snatched, and demonstrators are arrested when even a few people dare to speak about their fears. . . . The Soviet Union and their allies are violating the Geneva Protocol of 1925, related rules of international law, and the 1972 biological-weapons convention. There is conclusive evidence that the Soviet government has provided toxins for use in Laos and Kampuchea and are themselves using chemical weapons against freedom fighters in Afghanistan."

The Soviets were indignant at this ungentlemanly reference to the so-called "yellow rain," which nobody but the author of a book on the subject and the *Wall Street Journal* has wanted to talk about. A special UN investigating team is suppressing its own report of the use of yellow rain in Afghanistan, and Turtle Bay generally finds the whole business boring and in bad taste. Nevertheless, here is the opportunity to bring the question to the fore by placing it high on the agenda of the Second Special Session on Disarmament —which is already threatening to be not so special after all, just characteristically obfuscatory and dishonest. And yellow.

## The Falklands, Repeat, Falklands

About the British victory in the Falklands, and its consequences, a few observations:

1. The United Nations, largely unobserved (except by the *Wall Street Journal*), played a role in fomenting this conflict.

Member states are required to report to the Committee of 24 on their stewardship of what the UN has called "non-self-governing territories." It lists some seventy in this category, and the list defines them as territories claimed by a nineteenth century colonial power. The UN list is thus a residue of "de-colonialization." It includes, yes, the Falklands, but also Gibraltar, Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, etc. The Soviet Union and China have nothing on the list. Poland appears nowhere on it, nor does Tibet—nor, needless to say, any of the other nations seized by the Communist powers since World War II.

The implicit ideology of the Committee of 24 agenda obviously put the Falklands up for grabs, tending to encourage and legitimize the Argentine move as "anti-colonial." (England, be it noted, has been governing the Falklands for a longer period of time than the United States has been governing Texas.)

2. The British counter-stroke, like the Israeli war against the PLO, had the merit of introducing some concrete realities into the situation, displacing ide-



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ology. Given a prolonged period of immunity from serious attack, the PLO leaders might have come to believe that they had a chance against the Israeli military, or that the Syrians did, or that the Soviets would save them, etc. Now they know the truth, and those who survive will have to deal with that truth. The Argentine generals, talking among themselves in Buenos Aires, probably convinced themselves that the British would do nothing, or, at worst, that the Argentine forces could hold the Falklands against any British task force. Now they, too, know the truth. Indeed, the whole Argentine military fiasco may serve, for a time, to cool off Third World military illusions.

3. General Galtieri's retirement is richly deserved. He committed a Mussolini-style strategic error. In putting a force on the islands without sufficient seapower to keep its supply-lines open, he doomed it. In an orderly nation, the military men who planned and executed this operation would be court-martialed. In Argentina, however, the military old boys are running the show—and, under present circumstances, the political opposition would provide a worse government.

4. Margaret Thatcher has now ruled out any sort of UN trusteeship for the islands, and any sort of Argentine or joint sovereignty is excluded by circumstances for the foreseeable future. The British will garrison the islands and, with the enlarged airstrip at Stanley, have the capacity to retaliate against the mainland for any future Argentine attack.

5. Mrs. Thatcher is riding high politically, her firmness and good fortune in the Falklands getting an added boost from the birth of the baby boy to Princess Diana and Prince Charles. She has created a new political situation at home and holds a handful of high cards. May she play them skillfully, perhaps calling an election after an interval profoundly indecent.

## Lebanon's Protracted Ordeal

A point to remember about Lebanon is the singularity, among all Arabdom, of its experience of success in operating an elected and accountable system of government in keeping with modern constitutional canons during the early years following the achievement of independence in 1944. The collapse that overtook that brief achievement resulted not so much from internal faults as from intrusive circumstances having to do with Arab resistance to Israel's independence. Subversion by the Palestine Liberation Organization (beneficiary of Lebanon's reluctant hospitality) egged on by extremists among the Arab states, ambiguous protection from Syria, and intermittent pounding from Israel have jeopardized the country's existence.

One basis for hope now is the relatively mild Arab response to Israel's recent onslaught against PLO positions in Lebanon—with even Syria backing off from a military contest—as if the necessity prompting Israel's action were tacitly being acknowledged. Whether Israel for its part will show an appropriate degree of self-restraint in Lebanon remains to be seen.

That last question has a bearing on the issue of the U.S. Government's tone of voice toward Israel. Was a public chiding in order during Prime Minister Menachem Begin's recent visit to Washington? Our guess would be no. The President was better advised to register his caveats off the record and spare the temptations to ostentatious intransigence that Begin's character often seems to require.

Of Lebanon, it is said that it has had moments of tranquillity in recent years and even has snapshots to prove it. If anything better than transient quiet is to be restored for that beset land, the terms must be complete withdrawal by all external forces. A winding down of Lebanon's protracted ordeal is not obtainable on other conditions. Israel officially concurs in that proposition. Will the other Arab states go along? That point—not the question of whether or not to scold Israel for the record—is the important one.

## Billy Graham Comes Home

Everyone knows about the firestorm ignited by Billy Graham's remarks and general comportment in Moscow, but, now, the evangelist seems to have come home in more than a geographical sense.

In his first major appearance back in the United States, before a large crowd at Dartmouth College, Graham greatly disappointed much of his audience by his concentration upon religious themes. His few political statements also did not please a substantial segment of his audience: "I am not a pacifist, and I am not for unilateral disarmament. . . . No, they don't have religious freedom in the Soviet Union. I knew that before I went there, I knew it then, and I know it now. . . . I do not intend to become a leader in the peace movement. I intend to continue my work as an evangelist preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

Which is exactly what he did that evening. "Even if nuclear weapons are eliminated, we will not have ⟶

## At the Naval Colleges

Slung from the belly of a jet,
There's nothing like an Exocet
To turn a sailor inside out
And plague an admiral with doubt.
But judging from the distant past,
Such indecision doesn't last,
Since admirals are famous for
Their fondness for the war before.

W. H. von Dreele



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# Bonner's World

One and a half million people voted in the Salvadoran elections on March 28. The official report of the OAS expressed the consensus of observers and reporters: "The Salvadoran people . . . voted massively, equally in the cities as well as in the small towns, in a free and orderly manner."

More than two months after the event, the *New York Times* broke the consensus, with five stories: a June 3 Op-Ed piece by Thomas Sheehan ("Salvador Vote Inflated, Study Is Said to Find"); and four articles by Raymond Bonner, the *Times*'s correspondent in San Salvador.

The study to which Sheehan referred, and which reappeared in Bonner's articles, was an article in *Central American Studies*, a magazine published by the University of Central America in El Salvador, which charged that the vote totals had been "grossly inflated." The article did not allege how the fraud has been accomplished, or by whom, but it argued that a fraud must have taken place: given the number of available ballot boxes, the time it took to vote, and the hours the polls were open, the final tally "could not have exceeded 800,000 and, more likely, was probably about seven hundred thousand."

Raymond Bonner's first article, which appeared the next day, repeated the charge, and cited reports of voting irregularities in Chalatenango province as "circumstantial evidence."

On June 6, Bonner cited additional irregularities: large numbers of irregularly marked ballots in San Ildefonso and Suchitoto; suspiciously identical totals from different voting tables in Aguilares, El Paisnal, and Jiquilisco. On the 14th ("New Doubt Cast on Salvadoran Vote") Bonner had more bad news for his readers from the University of Central America: the Center for Documentation and Information now calculated that "not more than 1.3 million people could have voted." His last story, run on June 17, concentrated on the other side, in classic when-did-you-stop-beating-your-wife style: "El Salvador Denies Vote Totals Were Inflated."

Sheehan's article is most quickly disposed of, since it rests on a fifth-grade error in math. The University estimated that it took three minutes for each person to vote, and that polls stayed open an average of eight hours. Assuming twenty people voted per hour, the maximum number that could have voted in any one place was 160. Since there were 4,021 ballot boxes, the maximum possible number works out to 643,360 votes cast.

But of course that assumes that everyone voted *one at a time*. In fact, the voting was a multi-step process —Salvadorans presented ID cards, signed in, voted, and got their cards back—which ran continuously. If each voter started one minute after his predecessor, then 58 Salvadorans could have voted per hour; in which case, the maximum possible tally—using the University's own methodology—swells to 1.8 million.

Five minutes with a pencil and paper disposes of Sheehan's fantasy. Bonner's takes somewhat longer. Even with no special knowledge of El Salvador, it is clear that his pieces are full of journalistic holes. They rely, essentially, on one source. Bonner quotes official spokesmen as foils, and anonymous sources as background noise—"a diplomat," "another source," "a business leader." But the *post hoc* calculations on which his main charge rests come from the bitterly anti-government Jesuit-run University of Central America.

Even the government's critics within the University could not agree on what the real total might have been —"between 600,000 and 800,000" according to the magazine; "not more than 1.3 million," according to the Center for Documentation and Information. No one, Bonner admitted, had hard proof.

In the end, Bonner's story boils down to a handful of alleged irregularities, presumed to be symptomatic. After Bonner's crusade began, Dr. Jorge Bustamente, President of the Central Elections Commission, took up every one of the specific charges, and refuted them. The disputed towns in Chalatenango province had not voted because of guerrilla activity; the ballots in San Ildefonso and Suchitoto were annulled not because they were improperly marked, but because the election officials suspected fraud—and were trying to *frustrate* it. Different voting tables in Aguilares and El Paisnal turned in identical totals because the local authorities had counted the votes all together to speed the process up, for fear of guerrillas; the central authorities divided by the number of tables. In Jiquilisco, Bonner confused ballots issued and ballots cast.

But this is breaking a butterfly on a wheel. Bonner was in El Salvador during the elections. So were hundreds of his news-hungry colleagues. So were the international observers. So were the six political parties, bitterly at odds. The entire process was open to inspection. The idea that, for one month, with the eyes of the world on El Salvador, a multi-hundred-thousand vote fraud was hushed up—is absurd.

All reporters err—but occasionally they err so grossly (or worse) that they become the legitimate focus of attention; their irresponsible treatment of a story itself becomes a story. Janet Cooke's concoction of an eight-year-old junkie was one such account; Raymond Bonner's vote fraud is another.



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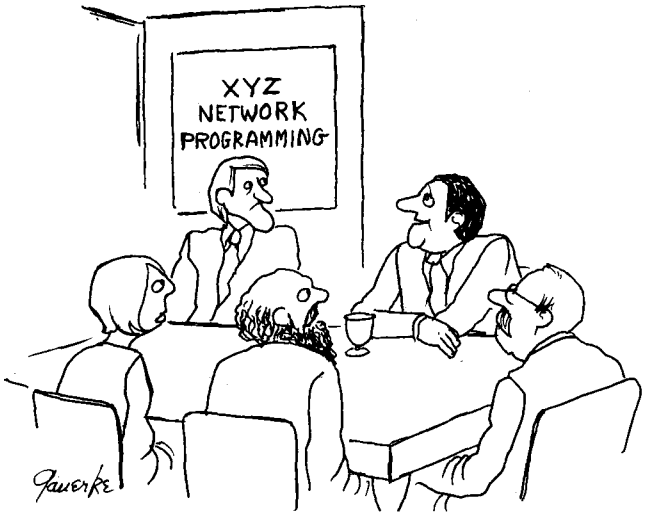


**"Granted, McCarthyism, Vietnam, and Watergate are hopelessly over, but can't we come up with some spin-offs?"**

peace. The problem is much deeper. It lies with human nature, with man himself. Ever since Cain and Abel, man has been killing and fighting." The only way to achieve "true peace, the peace that passeth understanding," said Graham, is through Christ.

When Graham, as he always does, asked for the audience to bow their heads in prayer, many of the disappointed unilateral disarmers conspicuously refused to do so. For them, Billy Graham is not a religious leader but a celebrity to be used, and doubtless discarded, like a piece of Kleenex, when the time comes.

## Lying or Snipping?

If your head isn't swimming, it's a cinch you're not following the controversy over CBS's January 23 documentary "The Uncounted Enemy: A Western Deception." The gist of it was that General William Westmoreland had lied to President Lyndon Johnson about the size and strength of the enemy.

To which *TV Guide*, in its May 29 issue, delivered a powerful analytic rebuttal, charging CBS with editing and otherwise shaping its evidence to support its preconceived view that Westmoreland had indeed lied.

At this point, a fray erupted: the *Washington Post*, Accuracy in Media, and *Newsweek* have all chipped in with criticisms and defenses of CBS and *TV Guide*.

The bottom line, as we see it, is this. Even the anti-*TV Guide* piece in *Newsweek* concedes that CBS had an axe to grind and suppressed inconvenient evidence. Beyond that, our contributor John Roche, who served in the Johnson Administration during that period, says that troop estimates were a methodological nightmare: Should truck drivers and porters be counted as soldiers? What about forces inside Cambodia? On what principle could one extrapolate from the known to the unknown?

Any estimated figures given by Westmoreland or anyone else were bound to be not only chancy but ambiguous. Vietcong were notoriously and deliberately hard to identify. Yet Mike Wallace and company literal-mindedly held Westmoreland to figures that were never meant to be hard, and laid the discrepancy between the estimate and the reality to "deception."

*Cui bono?* The great media myth of Vietnam is that our leaders lied, while the press was desperately trying to give us the truth. The CBS documentary was tailored to preserve that myth, and tailoring requires a good deal of artful snipping.

## Crazy and Guilty

John Hinckley, like all other human beings, is a mystery for whom it is impossible to assign precise degrees of pity and censure. Except that he shot the President of the United States, his press secretary, one of his bodyguards, and a policeman, Hinckley's little mystery would not command our attention.

The insanity plea that finally got him off the hook was an outrage. Not that he is perfectly "normal," but the law should not impose on jurors, or for that matter psychiatrists, the job of unraveling tangled souls. The characteristic feature of the law should be its steadying objectivity. Whatever Hinckley may be in the sight of his Creator (or Norman Mailer, whichever is Supremer), civil society is properly concerned with what he did. The only subjective consideration should be whether he actually knew what he was doing.

"There is a definite possibility that I will be killed in my attempt to get Reagan." From the perspective of social common sense, these words should suffice: John Hinckley knew what he was doing. It is a telling comment on the state of the psychiatric art that this sentence was cited by Hinckley's *defense*.

The miserable verdict in this case will no doubt inspire large revisions in the legal definitions of insanity. The entire psychiatric profession looks absurd when two "experts" deliver semi-intelligible testimony so mutually contradictory that it is hard not to suspect that at least one of them is a quack—and when 12 laymen are then asked to adjudicate the dispute. A psychotherapist of insight and experience may do his patients some good, but a courtroom is the wrong arena for a body of "expertise" that offers curiously little in the way of consensus.

On the evidence of this trial and two new books about the Yale murder of 1977 (see p. 846), it appears that the insanity plea can easily turn a trial from a search for facts into a covert battle for juror sympathy. The *New York Times* summed up the Hinckley trial this way: "The defense psychiatrists portrayed a schizophrenic, deluded, psychotic prisoner of an 'inner world' who should be pitied, while the prosecu-



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tion psychiatrists depicted a selfish, manipulative, lazy parasite." So what? And can one imagine a "defense" ballistics expert testifying that the murder weapon was only a .22, while the "prosecution" expert insisted it was a shotgun?

Common sense would agree that Hinckley has a screw loose. Common sense is not incompatible with pity. But common sense would also say that John Hinckley knew just what he was doing. That is why he did it.

## From an Oracle

George Gilder has lately amplified his argument that econometric statistics miss the point of real economic activity, while disguising their essential irrelevance with a semblance of exactitude. He recently took a chunk of the *Washington Post*'s Op-Ed page to predict a new boom in the Eighties—thanks to "productive breakthroughs in energy and electronics" which establishment economists have failed to appreciate.

No thanks to the politicians. Despite all the talk of "huge tax cuts," Gilder points out, inflation and Social Security increases boosted tax rates 10 per cent in 1981—even after the October cuts. Projected Reagan deficits, he notes, assume that Carter's 46 per cent tax rate increases would bring in proportionately larger revenues—when a depression would be a more likely result.

Interest rates? Not only inflation but high marginal tax rates force them up. The borrower gets a tax break on interest rates, which encourages borrowing, while savings are penalized, thus shrinking the funds available for lending. Thus has public policy intensified competition for the little that can be borrowed.

The cure for what ails us is a tax cut—a real one. So far, says Gilder, Reagan hasn't achieved this, but "he has prevented the catastrophic bracket-creep increases projected by the Carter Administration and still sought by his opponents." Which "opens the way for dramatic economic gains in coming years."

## Here Comes New Columbia

Local politics in the District of Columbia suffer from sad neglect, since so many of the District's citizens prefer to keep track of the federal follies instead. The latest result of this neglect is a little-noted constitutional convention, charged with drawing up a charter to govern D.C. should Congress ever agree to let it become a state. If the proposed constitution is any clue, the state of New Columbia (the convention turned down, perhaps wisely, a plan to name the state "Utopia") will vie with Haiti and Santa Monica to be the worst-governed jurisdiction in this hemisphere.

On labor matters, for example, the proposed charter features a government-backed "right to a job," official approval of reverse discrimination, and constitutional protection for public-employee strikes. It was all too much for the *Washington Post*'s Jerry Knight, who complains that "D.C. statehood advocates themselves are providing the best arguments against making Washington the 51st state. . . . Rather than drafting a framework for a new political structure, they seem to be drawing the faces on every gargoyle decorating the new statehouse." Among the "wackiest" provisions, Knight says, are those on utilities: the constitution guarantees the lowest reasonably possible utility rates —why not the best reasonably possible weather?—and an earlier draft would have required the District government, which now can't even read water meters or send out accurate bills, to take over all utilities. There would also be a state development bank, specifically instructed to make risky loans, a clause "virtually guaranteeing its insolvency," as a left-wing columnist put it in despair. Most observers now expect the constitution to crash down in defeat, either in a voter referendum or later when Congress considers it.

## John Cheever, R I P

Those of us who were the privileged members of The Friday Club knew John Cheever as Our Founder, for he had hatched the idea in the first place, the idea of getting together at his house at Friday noon, having a drink, and sallying forth to some dank tavern along the Hudson to drink, eat, and tell merry tales for a couple of hours, after which we got our feet on the ground again with a goodly stroll through the woods and hills behind John's house. We were a small band —a writer from *Time*, a folksinger, a retired encyclopedia executive (Our Treasurer), a cellist, a cartoonist, Our Founder, and me.

John's simple affection for life shows in every sentence he wrote but showed even more powerfully in his personal grace. To meet him was to fall into his world and become one of the objects of his studious and merry attention. He said hello with his eyes wide open, and within a minute or two he would be sharing his world with you.

"Today was the awfullest morning," he said once. We raised our eyebrows in concern. He pointed to his crotch. "I found a grey hair—down *there*!"

One day John took it into his head to describe everyone who came into the bar in bird terms. He went on for minutes on end, and I wish I could remember it all, but I do remember his chirp of delight when the professional gravedigger came in for his early-afternoon nip. "Ho ho! A local bird of limited song and no particular plumage, but he hath his ecological uses." And then that almost inaudible deep-throated chuckle.

John was a thoroughly professional writer. He made a great hangdog face one day and complained: "I'm



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not even sixty and some of my stories are already in the public domain." He didn't think it a compliment at all; it was royalties lost. I was with him, driving him home in fact, the day we stopped at his mailbox and he picked *Bullet Park* out of its envelope and had his new book in his hands for the first time. What does a Great Writer do when he first lays his hands on his newest book? Just what you and I would do: he jigs it up and down in his hands to feel the weight of it, he flips the pages to see that there's ink on them, and he says, "Okay, okay!" The writer from *Time* was mentioning one day that he had been asked to do an article for some magazine for $1,000. John said: "Pshaw, I wouldn't put a piece of paper into the typewriter for less than $2,000." Once, under some provocation, I carried on at some length on the literal meaning of the word "offing." John listened with more than merely polite attention. I was pleased to think I was able to offer something, in the literary line, that might be useful or interesting to such a finished artist. When I had done, John exploded with joy: "Wonderful! I've got to use that before John Updike gets his hands on it!"

It is good that his books are on the shelves now, reminding us forever of his happy Christian vision of a world that is, as he said, underneath its bizarre and violent disguises, wonderful wonderful wonderful wonderful.

—W. F. RICKENBACKER

## Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: WAR
Re: Most Confidential Meeting (don't let this get around)

It wasn't quite so mind-blowing as Bill Buckley's famous party for *Firing Line* guests last year, at which Gordon Liddy could be seen chatting amiably with Jerry Rubin, and Betty Friedan exchanged recipes with Phyllis Schlafly. This time, for one thing, there were no leftists present. But how often do you see Richard Viguerie and Irving Kristol hobnobbing in a corner, or find Midge Decter, Paul Weyrich, and Allan Ryskind sharing a joke over their cocktails? [What on *earth* was that joke?—WFB] It isn't so much that the conservative movement is divided as that its components are geographically dispersed: the Old Right mostly clustered around the flanks of Capitol Hill, the New Right scattered amid the sylvan splendors of Washington's Virginia suburbs, and the neoconservatives ensconced comfortably in Manhattan, two hundred miles away to the north. It was the happy inspiration of Mike Joyce, executive director of the Olin Foundation, to invite them all to meet each other over drinks and dinner at a pleasant little French restaurant in Washington recently, and some 25 or thirty certified conservative tigers turned up. It was, as Michelin would say, worth a journey.

Luckily the culture-shock wasn't as great as some pessimists had feared. The heavyweights of the New Right, it turned out, not only look but feel perfectly comfortable in neckties. The neoconservatives, mercifully, displayed none of that superciliousness that is supposed to be their hallmark. Even those of us on the Old Right agreed to set aside, for one evening only, our ongoing investigation into Who Promoted Peress.

The theme of the occasion emerged unbidden even before the entrée arrived: a pervasive dissatisfaction with the direction and accomplishments of the Reagan Administration. Here, the various forces represented did differ: some of those present stressed Policy, while others tended to zero in on Personnel. Every now and then the two emphases merged in dissatisfaction with a single personality: e.g., Secretary Haig, who had so few defenders that John Lofton departed thinking (mistakenly) that the group's central decision had been to Get Haig. ("Who would replace him?" somebody wondered. "Go ahead," growled his neighbor, "—name her.")

Along about dessert most of those present decided they had to Do Something to justify the occasion. A subcommittee of two therefore, comprising Midge Decter and Stan Evans, was appointed to draft a list of objections to the Reagan Administration's foreign policy. Fifteen or twenty, it was suggested, would be enough.

Above the tumult of critical voices, at least one was raised to warn that conservatives had better be satisfied with Ronald Reagan—"God bless him, you will not see his like again. Make up your minds: Are you for him, or against him? And then act accordingly." To which Terry Dolan replied firmly: "I'm for Reaganism and against Reagan."

And so, full and friendly, they strolled out into the warm Washington night and departed: not in total agreement, by a long shot, but at least—and at last—acquaintances.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I find the alphabet sentences are growing a little tedious and would like to propose a new contest, oxymorons. Having just watched the first half of the Buckley-Galbraith debate, I would like to enter "liberal thought."

Cordially,
S. M. Honea
Rochester, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Honea: A terrific thought! You win first prize! **—WFB**



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We don't want to give away the plot, but it's about the race with the Soviets to be first in space — and Buckley makes it a nail-biter, even though you already "know" the historic outcome (this *tour de force* seems to be what impressed many critics: it *is* a neat trick, because it makes you, the reader, impatient as all get-out to *see* how Buckley can pull it off). By the way, as a kind of bonus, Buckley also performs some fascinating stunts with dialogue between such characters as Allen Dulles and Dean Acheson — you begin to wonder if maybe he wasn't there with a tape recorder? It's great stuff, you'll love it.

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*FROM*
# Washington Straight

JOHN McLAUGHLIN

## *Plus and Minus In Lebanon*

ODDLY, ISRAEL'S military foray into Lebanon has caused less reaction on Capitol Hill than Israel's destruction of the Osirak nuclear reactor in Baghdad a year ago. Perhaps not so odd, this being an election year. When faced with the political intricacies of Lebanon, most Hill members give up trying to understand them, and let a handful of knowledgeable colleagues guide them. This latter group of senators and representatives is keeping mum because the Israeli strike was not unexpected and, while lamenting the bloodshed, they generally support its objectives. It was inevitable, they believe, that the Israelis would find intolerable a major PLO presence, autonomous and taunting, in southern Lebanon, especially one that stiffened the will of the Palestinians on the West Bank who are resisting the progressive colonization of that territory by the Israelis.

Congress is also, to some extent, cued by the White House, which has taken a let-the-string-run-out attitude toward the invasion, with some opposition (muted, for public consumption, by national security advisor William Clark) from Caspar Weinberger, middle-levelers at State, and the National Security Council itself, including Clark. It was revealing that Secretary Haig, before the TV cameras, described the number of Israeli aircraft shot down in one dogfight by saying that "we" lost one F-16. As a general, Haig is understandably pleased at the performance of U.S. technology vis-à-vis Soviet technology, notably how the Syrian SAM-6s were foiled by U.S.-supplied electronic jammers and other gear. Haig's euphoria may be deflated, however, when he learns that the Soviets (to the credit of their intelligence) withheld sophisticated electronic components from military weaponry shipped to the Syrians, whereas we give Israel practically everything we've got.

Secretary Haig and President Reagan knew in advance that the Israeli invasion was in the offing, and tried to derail it by tame admonitions to Menachem Begin that were at a safe remove from an ultimatum. State Department trouble-shooters Walter Stoessel, Nicholas Veliotes, and Philip Habib, fresh from various trips to the Middle East, took the view that the invasion was imminent and that if the PLO failed to provoke the Israelis, the Israelis might fake a provocation and invade regardless. Absent an adamant signal from us, the Israelis found the convergence of diversional world events—the Falklands, Reagan's grand tour, the Iraq-Iran war—so seductive as to be irresistible. The timing was at critical mass. Begin could now safely unleash Sharon.

THE QUESTION under debate at the highest levels in Washington is whether Israel, in effect, has done the world a favor by reshuffling the Middle East deck, dealing all parties a new hand. The problems of that region now seem less intractable, says the Haig camp, and everyone stands to gain from the Israeli action in one way or another, including the moderate Arab states, Syria, the Soviet Union, Egypt, Israel, the United States—even the Palestinians themselves.

Despite the rhetoric, this reasoning goes, moderate Arabs look upon the PLO as a nuisance and a danger. A new PLO, if one emerges, will be nonmilitary in character, a political entity only, which is what many Arabs want.

Damascus is happy, according to this logic, because there is the possibility that Muslim areas of Lebanon will be ceded to Syria in a political settlement. Also, the future PLO will probably be headquartered in Syria, which would permit Hafiz Assad to keep it on a short leash, as he has been trying to do for years. Egypt stands to gain because Hosni Mubarak can use Lebanon to reintegrate his nation further into the Arab mainstream by taking a leadership role in Lebanon's political and material reconstruction.

Even the Soviet Union might benefit from the Israeli invasion because Syrian troops will be out of Lebanon, where the Soviets do not want them.

Israel is pleased not only because she has neutralized a border threat but more importantly because the invasion has overshadowed the West Bank/Gaza Palestinian autonomy issue. In fact, Israel has probably burned the issue out altogether.

The United States is happy, the Haig vision has it, because Lebanon now has a chance of being reconstituted and because at last we have a true military proxy in the Middle East—effective and daring—which can implement military solutions denied to a superpower and, by the way, test our advanced weaponry in the process.

Lebanon, alas, is unhappy now, because she must bury the dead, take care of the wounded, settle some 600,000 refugees, rebuild her cities and industrial infrastructure. Once this is attended to, Lebanon will be happy in the knowledge that she is "restored" to a PLO/Syrian/Israeli-free status. Rightist Maronites, leftist Druze, Shi'ites, Sunnis, Christian Phalangists, Greek Orthodox, and other groups can then reconcile themselves—utopian as that may sound.

There are, it is being said, problems with the Haig/Begin/Sharon Realpolitik besides its utopianism. Whether the PLO was a nuisance or not, moderate Arab states were appalled that Ronald Reagan did not contain the devastation of Lebanon (no one believes the U.S. was impotent), and they find their relations with the U.S. wrenched and scarred. Hosni Mubarak is in trouble with his Arab constituents because of the invasion, which may incline him to harden his line toward Israel and toward us. A radical Palestinian operation will almost certainly emerge to keep the area destabilized.

What should Ronald Reagan do? One answer being given—simple—is: withhold all military weapons from Israel (including those 75 F-16s) until Israel agrees to carry out the Camp David accords, which means a demilitarized, buffered West Bank and Gaza as a homeland for the Palestinians. A Palestinian statelet there would make Israel more secure. If Israel can make Lebanon be Lebanon, why shouldn't the United States, Israel's best friend, make Israel be Israel? □



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# The Case for Tidying Up

## The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

THE WORLD situation has never been more desperately untidy, and many of us find this deplorable but the kind of fact one has to live with. The untidiness was neatly encapsulated by the recent quarrel between Jeane Kirkpatrick and Alexander Haig.

One way to put it is that he was right but she wasn't wrong. Or vice versa. The unity of the North Atlantic powers is important and in the end (as Margaret Thatcher knew during the weeks of the Secretary of State's diplomatic shuttling) the U.S. was bound to come out on Britain's side in the Falklands crisis.

On the other hand, the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere is also important, as is specifically the readiness of Argentina to help the government of El Salvador defend itself against Communist subversion.

One of the objects of the Haig shuttle was to enable the Reagan Administration to eat its cake as well as having it. Had it succeeded, the crisis would not have turned into a war, hemispheric solidarity would have been preserved, and the public would not have been treated to the spectacle of verbal fisticuffs between the Secretary of State and the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

## The Untidinesses

Since political strategy is the central concern of this column, I now offer some reflections on post-Falklands strategic requirements for the South Atlantic; and upon the meaning of "win" and "lose" in World War III.

1. *The South Atlantic.* One of the most deplorable aspects of the Falklands business is the appalling myopia of the Argentine junta, which did not foresee the consequences of its aggression. If Foreign Ministries thought strategically, the Falklands questions would have been considered in the framework of a valid security policy for the whole South Atlantic, including its eastern as well as its western shores.

The interested parties on the western shores are clearly: Argentina and Uruguay (of course); and Chile; but also Brazil. And on the eastern shores: Angola, Namibia, and South Africa. And, of course, the U.S. as the Hemisphere's superpower, and Great Britain (because of the Falklands).

South Africans do think strategically, and, despite their pressing local preoccupations, they made overtures to the Brazilians suggesting conversations on the problems of maritime security in the region. These were spurned, not unexpectedly—not because the Brazilians were blind to the problem, but because they run a remarkably harmonious multiracial society and do not wish to be seen talking to apartheid-conditioned Boers. The problem, however, did not go away just because the Brazilians were snooty about interlocutors.

What *was* perhaps unexpected was what came next. On March 17 (two weeks before the Argentine invasion) the Brazilian Navy Minister, Admiral Maximiano da Fonseca, announced a gigantic naval expansion program ($15 billion over ten years) and let it be known, for starters, that the Brazilian island of Trindade was going to be fortified at a cost of $300 million. Not bad, for a country whose foreign debt now stands at $57.5 billion.

Furthermore, Admiral da Fonseca made it quite clear that Brazil intended to go it alone in ensuring the security of the South Atlantic.

Now consider the untidinesses:

—The Brazilians won't talk to the South Africans.

—The Chileans and Argentinians have not been on speaking terms lately because of their dispute over the Beagle Channel (although they are to start talking again, because of the Falklands).

—The Angolans are an enemy party in this matter; but they are on good terms with the Brazilians, as part of Brazil's "oceanic" strategy.

—Until the advent of the Reagan Administration, the Western powers were oblivious to the strategic consequences of giving Namibia away to Moscow's protégés of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The only important thing was to get the South Africans out: never mind who took over. Nor did they think, in particular, of the future ownership of the important harbor of Walvis Bay, which just happens to be a South African enclave in Namibian territory, which the Soviet Admiral Gorshkov would love to get his hands on. Yet Walvis Bay is no less important than the Falklands or Trindade in the maritime security of the South Atlantic.

2. *Win or lose?* As I said in an earlier column (and I was not alone), the Soviets have been sitting pretty in this whole crisis. Overnight, the "fascist junta" in Buenos Aires became the injured victim of colonialism. What indeed could the Russians lose? A South Atlantic Pact was hardly on the horizon when General Galtieri ordered his forces to occupy the Falklands, but the paradox now is that the crisis has made the need evident and also deferred its realization indefinitely.

## Mitterrand's Blinders

Looking north to El Salvador, the Russians can take joy in the circumstances which understandably irk Mrs. Kirkpatrick. As if that were not untidiness enough, there is the extra bonus of the close relations the Mitterrand government in Paris is cultivating with Fidel Castro's regime in Havana. In the face of overwhelming evidence, President Mitterrand's high officials and ministers are publicly oblivious to the role of international Communist subversion in Central America. They embrace the curious myth that Castro wants to escape from excessive dependence on his Soviet paymasters *and* that if France is nice to him he will, in effect, join the Western camp. So sold is François Mitterrand on these odd notions that he recently sent (of all people) Georges Marchais, boss of the French Communist Party, to Havana to boost the special relations between France and Cuba.

Here again, the Russians can't lose. For if the Salvadoran guerrillas fail to unseat the elected government, they will not have lost a point, merely failed to gain one; while if the guerrillas win, they will have won a battle. So it is and has always been. The Soviets will have lost a battle in the Third World War only when a country that had gone Communist is liberated from Communism. I shall return to this theme. □



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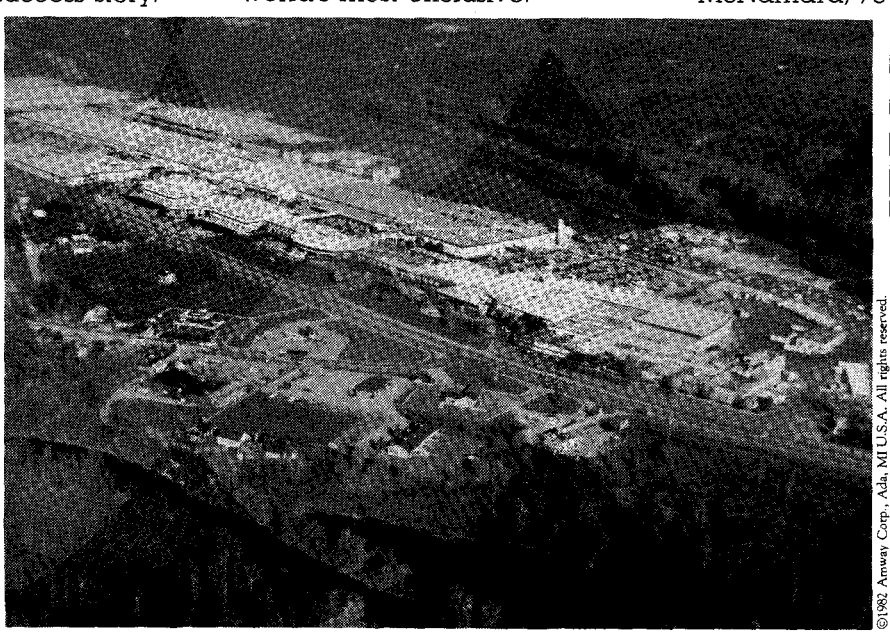

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INCOME REDISTRIBUTION

# GOVERNMENT & the Rich

YALE BROZEN

WE HAVE a wide range of interests at the University of Chicago—from pure science and outer space to income distribution and the inner city. In all these activities, we are basically concerned with the discovery of laws that will enable us to understand various phenomena. We, of course, don't have a monopoly on the discovery field, although the association of fifty Nobel Prize winners with the University indicates that we have some eminence in contributions made to knowledge.

Discoveries also occur elsewhere. Professor C. Northcote Parkinson, for example, the former Raffles Professor at the University of Malaya, through many years of painstaking research discovered the law that "Expenses rise to meet income." If he had spent a little time observing the Federal Government, he might have amended his law to read, "Expenditures always exceed income, no matter how great income is."

Lee Loevinger, formerly of the Federal Communications Commission, discovered a very useful law which helps us to understand many things. His law might be called the Law of Irresistible Use. Loevinger's law says, "If a boy has a hammer, it proves something needs pounding." The political-science analogue is, "If there is a government agency, this proves something needs regulating."

I am going to propound a law. Brozen's law is this: *Whenever the government attempts to redistribute income from the rich to the poor, it creates more poor people, impoverishes the nation, and decreases the portion of the tax burden borne by the rich.*

First, what are the means used by government to redistribute income? They are many and varied in design. They range from minimum-wage laws to welfare programs to a steeply progressive income-tax structure that taxes high incomes disproportionately more than it taxes low incomes. A more complete list would have to include rent and other price controls (such as those imposed on natural gas and the lifeline rates for telephone service); unemployment insurance; laws granting power to unions and exempting them from antitrust laws and laws against the use of violence; the bend in the formula relating Social Security benefits to the amount of Social Security tax paid; provision of educational services at no charge or at a nominal charge; medicaid, housing, and urban-renewal programs; toll-free waterways constructed or maintained by the Federal Government; overpayment of low-echelon civil servants and postal workers; agricultural and maritime subsidies; taxation on corporate earnings and property; subsidies provided to the Tennessee Valley Authority; Rural Electrification Administration loans at 2 and 5 per cent; etc. Some of these programs actually redistribute income from the poor to the rich, while others redistribute in the opposite direction. The net effect of all these programs, however, is to impoverish the rich without producing marked benefits for the poor. Some of the poor are helped, but most of them are worse off than they would be without the programs that are supposed to help them.

The minimum-wage laws are one example of an attempt to help the poor that has backfired. There are four effects of these laws. One is that some people do receive an increase in their cash wage rate and in their total cash income. The increase is small, however, and, for many, it is at the expense of future income.

Despite the increase in cash income from a rise in the statutory minimum wage, the recipients of this largesse suffer a reduction in the utility from their total compensation. Employers compensate their workers not only with cash, but also in other ways. They provide training programs, other non-cash income in the form of amenities on the job, and various fringe benefits (medical and dental insurance, contributions to pension plans, stability of employment, vacation and holiday pay, etc.). When an employer is forced to raise the cash wage rate for employees, he often reduces other elements of the compensation he provides, such as training programs, rather than laying people off or reducing the number of people hired.

With less training provided for low-wage workers, they do not become as skilled. Their future compensation is reduced by the rise in their current minimum cash wage. A survey of the job experience of young male workers between 1966 and 1969 found that in 1966 they received 38 to 58 per

*Mr. Brozen is a professor of business economics at the Graduate School of Business of the University of Chicago and an adjunct scholar of the American Enterprise Institute. His latest book,* Concentration, Mergers, and Public Policy, *has just been published by Macmillan.*



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**In 1956 a friend acquired a maid. 'Last year,' he explained, 'you couldn't get a maid for less than 70 cents an hour. When the minimum wage was raised to $1, a lot of people were laid off. Now they will work for 50 cents an hour'**

cent of their compensation in the form of on-the-job training. The 1967 increase in the minimum wage reduced the amount of on-the-job training by an estimated 26 to 31 per cent. As a result, these workers' wages rose less rapidly in the following years. By 1969, their compensation was 14 to 17 per cent lower than it would have been if there had been no increase in the statutory minimum wage in 1967.

A second effect of minimum-wage laws is to reduce the cash income of some low-wage workers by forcing them out of higher- into lower-wage work. The federal minimum-wage law does not cover all occupations. Historically, whenever the minimum wage has been increased, the number of jobs in covered occupations has decreased compared to what it would otherwise be. Some workers forced out of covered occupations or prevented from entering these occupations by a rise in the statutory minimum wage have had to take jobs in non-covered occupations, such as busboy or domestic servant, at a lower wage which they had previously spurned.

I was first struck by this phenomenon in 1956 when the minimum wage was raised from 75 cents to $1 an hour (plus legally required fringes such as unemployment insurance and Social Security, paid by a tax on payrolls, and workers' compensation insurance). At that time, I usually gave a lecture once a year at Vanderbilt University, and while in Nashville I stayed at the home of one of my friends. In 1956, my friend had a maid. He had not had one the previous year. I congratulated him on his promotion and pay increase that enabled him to afford a maid. He laughed and said, "No. I haven't been promoted. I am a beneficiary of the rise in the minimum wage."

"Last year," he continued, "you couldn't get a maid for less than 70 cents an hour. When the minimum wage was raised to $1, a lot of people were laid off. Now they will take jobs as maids at 50 cents an hour. Fifty cents an hour I can afford."

Since 1956, however, the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act has been expanded from 53 per cent of all jobs to 84 per cent; consequently, laid-off workers can no longer find jobs in non-covered occupations at low wage rates, as women in Nashville could in 1956. Thus the third effect of our minimum-wage laws is that each increase in the statutory minimum and the occupations it covers has increased the unemployment rate among unskilled workers. And the number of unskilled workers, in turn, is increasing as a consequence of minimum-wage-induced reductions in on-the-job training.

This has produced tragic results for minority teenagers, who are among our least skilled workers. The unemployment rate for them is now 40 per cent, a rate never before reached even at the depths of previous recessions. This scandalously high unemployment rate is a consequence of the new high level of the statutory minimum put into effect last year and, also, of the high entering minima set by some unions.

The fourth effect of the minimum-wage laws is a misallocation of capital and labor and a reduction in the rate of capital formation. The result of this is a much slower rise in productivity. Productivity growth has dropped continuously since the mid-1960s. From 1947 to 1966, output per worker hour grew by 3.2 per cent per year. The output-per-hour growth rate dropped by one-third—to 2.1 per cent—from 1966 to 1973. Then it fell an additional 55 per cent—to 1 per cent—in the years 1973-78. Since 1978, output per hour has actually declined. Many factors have contributed to this result, but one of them is the rising statutory minimum-wage rate. Since 1977 it has gone from $2.30 to $3.35 an hour, plus legally required fringes. This has forced people into low-productivity, non-covered jobs instead of the high-productivity jobs that they otherwise would have found. This has decreased average productivity.

Rather than elaborate further on the influence of the statutory minimum wage, let me turn to an illustration in terms of collectively bargained minimum wages. Those collectively bargained minima would not be as high as they are in the steel and auto industries, in air, rail, truck, and ship transportation, and in mass transit, coal mining, and construction but for the power that we have given to unions on the misguided notion that giving power to unions would redistribute income to poverty-stricken workers.* The net result is the same as the effect of the statutory minima. More workers have been impoverished by union efforts than have gained from them. Attempting to redistribute income from

**"How come *beer* isn't a leading indicator?"**

*Unions are simply cartels of workers. Cartelization—price conspiracies—is a *per se* violation of the antitrust laws, but unions are exempt from the application of the antitrust laws unless they overtly and explicitly conspire with employers to control product prices. In addition to this exemption, numerous pieces of legislation—ranging from the Norris-LaGuardia and Wagner Acts to the Walsh-Healy and Davis-Bacon Acts, and Section 13(c) of the Mass Transit Act—are designed and administered to give power to unions.



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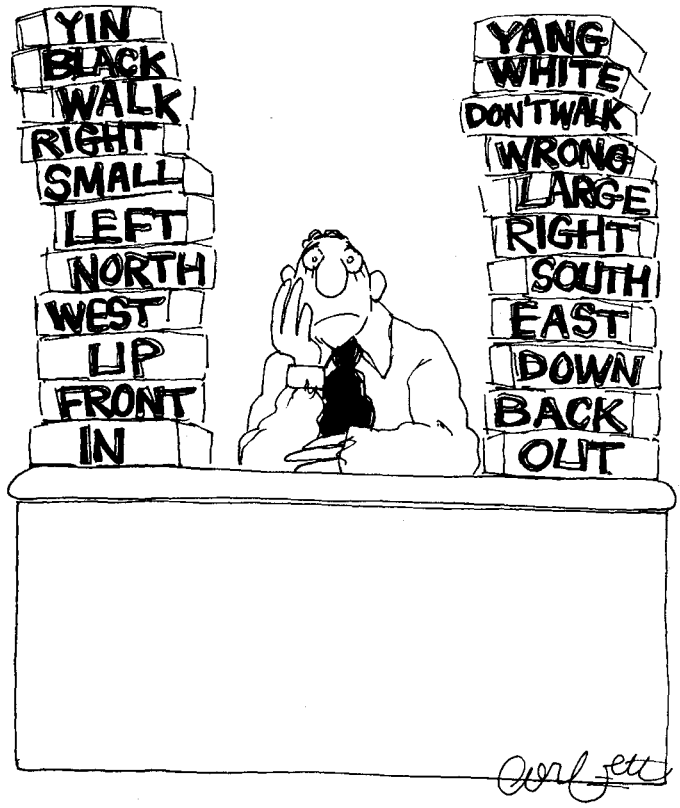


the rich to the poor by giving power to unions has made the poor poorer than they would otherwise be.

Let me illustrate by taking the example of the steel industry (the wage and employment situation in the auto industry, be it noted, has followed an almost identical pattern). In the steel industry, workers in a free market would normally be paid about 15 to 20 per cent more than an average manufacturing worker. Their skill level is somewhat higher than the average manufacturing worker, and the steel industry invests more in worker training than the average employer. When employers invest more in worker training, they pay higher wages in order to hold onto their workers and thus avoid losing their investment.

In the early 1950s, the premium received by the steel worker over the average manufacturing production worker was 18 per cent. By the early 1960s, the premium had mounted to 46 per cent, and the steel industry began to be troubled by competition from imports and a loss of export markets. The discipline imposed by imports dropped the premium back to 39 per cent. By the time the extended-negotiating no-strike agreement was signed in 1973, the premium had returned to 46 per cent. The increase then accelerated, from a little over one percentage point per year during the period 1952-1973, to nearly six percentage points, with the premium reaching 86 per cent in 1980, when the average steel worker earned $18.45 an hour compared to an average of $9.92 in all manufacturing. The result of this superpremium pay in the steel industry is that employment in the industry is now about 400,000 less than it would be if a normal premium were paid.

What happened to the 400,000 workers who were frozen out of the steel industry by the minimum wage set in collective-bargaining agreements? These workers have found jobs in other industries—jobs in which they are less productive, and paid less, than they would have been in the steel industry. In steel, absent the power of the union, they would be paid 20 to 25 per cent more than they are now earning in other industries and they would be employed more productively. (Although the steelworker's premium would, as I said, normally be 15 to 20 per cent over other manufacturing production workers, pay rates would actually be 20 to 25 per cent higher in an expanding steel industry.)

The invisible 400,000 are not the only ones who have suffered as a result of the current pay scale in the steel industry. The high pay rates of workers who are still employed in the steel industry come at the expense of all other workers. Employment in other industries expanded by 400,000, but only because the invisible 400,000 are competing for these jobs.

The squeeze on employment opportunities in high-productivity jobs is thus forcing workers into less productive alternative occupations, just as the statutory minimum wage has downgraded lower-level job opportunities.

That is part of the reason for the decline in productivity in the last three years and the slowed growth in average productivity in earlier years. This is why the redistribution mechanisms we have employed, which were intended to redistribute income from the rich to the poor, have instead impoverished the nation, including its poor. Our total output today is about 23 per cent less than it would otherwise have been. Real wages are about 20 per cent lower than they would have been if we had not installed various mechanisms to push wage rates up. Unemployment has been mounting in the last nine months because collectively bargained wages have been rising at a 10 per cent rate instead of the 6 per cent rate that would have been consistent with the maintenance of full employment.

❦

So far, I have discussed only indirect methods of income redistribution and the consequences following from their distortion of wage rates in private markets. Let us turn now to some of the programs for direct redistribution of income —first, our steeply progressive income-tax structure.

In 1921, top-bracket income was taxed at a rate of 73 per cent. The result was that people did not choose to earn much income that would fall into this top bracket. Now, most of our saving and our investment in tools and equipment, which makes workers more productive and enables them to earn high rates of pay, is done by upper-income groups. Since there was little high-bracket income produced, there was little saving and investment. Worker productivity and earnings suffered. Also, since there was little taxable high-bracket income, most of the taxes paid were taken from lower-income people. In 1921, 72 per cent of all income taxes were collected from people making less than $100,000 per year. Those making over $100,000 were subject to income-tax rates ranging from 60 to 73 per cent on their marginal income, and they paid 28 per cent of all income taxes collected.

By 1926, the tax rate on income over $100,000 had been reduced to 25 per cent. With this steep reduction in top-bracket rates, incentives for earning taxable income in this bracket increased greatly. Instead of keeping only 27 cents out of each extra dollar earned, top-bracket taxpayers could now keep 75 cents.



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## Table 1
## Median Family Incomes
## Before and After Direct Federal Taxes and Inflation 1971-1981

| Year | Median family income[a] | Direct federal taxes | | | After-tax income | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Income tax[b] | Social Security | Total | Current dollars | 1971 dollars[c] |
| 1971 | $10,314 | $ 933 | $ 406 | $1,339 | $ 8,975 | $8,975 |
| 1972 | 11,152 | 982 | 468 | 1,450 | 9,702 | 9,392 |
| 1973 | 11,895 | 1,098 | 632 | 1,730 | 10,165 | 9,264 |
| 1974 | 13,004 | 1,267 | 761 | 2,028 | 10,976 | 9,014 |
| 1975 | 14,156 | 1,172 | 825 | 1,997 | 12,159 | 9,149 |
| 1976 | 15,016 | 1,388 | 878 | 2,266 | 12,750 | 9,071 |
| 1977 | 15,949 | 1,466 | 933 | 2,399 | 13,550 | 9,056 |
| 1978 | 17,318 | 1,717 | 1,048 | 2,765 | 14,553 | 9,034 |
| 1979 | 19,097 | 1,876 | 1,171 | 3,047 | 16,050 | 8,955 |
| 1980 | 20,900[d] | 2,197 | 1,281 | 3,478 | 17,422 | 8,563 |
| 1981 | 23,700[d] | 2,801[e] | 1,576 | 4,377 | 19,323 | 8,548 |

*a.* Median income for all families with one earner employed full-time, year-round.
*b.* Married couple filing joint return, two children.
*c.* Adjusted by Consumer Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.
*d.* 1980 and 1981 estimated by Tax Foundation.
*e.* Assumes no change in current law.

*Source:* Tax Foundation, *Monthly Tax Features*, vol. 25, no. 6 (June-July 1981).

A remarkable thing happened. Despite a reduction of nearly two-thirds in the tax rate on the top-bracket group, they paid 86 per cent more taxes in 1926 than they paid in 1921. They earned so much more income in 1926 subject to the 25 per cent rate than they had earned in 1921 subject to 60 to 73 per cent rates that they paid 51 per cent of the total tax collected instead of only 28 per cent. In other words, taxing the rich less resulted in their taking on a double share of the tax burden. We were on the wrong side of the hump of the Laffer Curve in 1921.

In the same period, 1921 to 1926, average annual earnings of employees rose by 12 per cent and the consumer price index dropped by 2 per cent. You might contrast that with the period 1975-80, in which pre-tax earnings dropped by 6 per cent measured in constant dollars and, because of bracket creep resulting from inflation, after-tax real earnings and median family income dropped even more (see Table 1). During the first half of the 1920s, because of the tax reductions occurring throughout that period, saving and investment were sufficient to increase the amount of tools and equipment per employee by 3 per cent per year. In the last half of the 1970s, saving and investment barely kept up with the rise in the work force. They have been insufficient to increase the amount of tools and equipment available for each employee. In our impatience to squeeze more out of the geese that lay those golden eggs, we have nearly strangled them with punitive tax rates and now have a shortage of eggs.

The 1921-26 experience is not unique. We were on the wrong side of the Laffer Curve again in the early 1960s. In 1963, income over $50,000 was taxed at rates ranging from 59 to 91 per cent. These rates were cut to a range of 50 to 70 per cent. With these cuts, revenues from this group *increased* 34 per cent in 1965 over 1963 (see Table 2). This was not a result of bracket creep—the data were adjusted for the 3 per cent increase in the consumer price index to measure what happened in constant dollars.

As James Gwartney and Richard Stroup put it in "Tax Reductions, Incentive Effects, and the Distribution of the Tax Burden" (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Economic Review*): "Tax rates—particularly marginal tax rates—influence the reward structure confronted by individual taxpayers, and thereby exert an impact on the allocation of labor and capital resources. . . . When taxes are levied on an economic activity, the quantity of that activity undertaken will decline." In attempting to redistribute income from the rich to the poor, a high tax rate on the rich will, paradoxical as it may seem, result in less of the tax burden being borne by them, because they will seek shelter in investments that yield capital gains rather than current income —high-growth stocks that don't pay much in dividends— or they will put their money in tax-exempt securities, vacation homes, etc. Reducing tax rates on our upper-bracket taxpayers increases the revenues collected from them and increases the share of the tax burden they bear.

Let us turn now to the effect of government largesse on the recipients. The largesse is passed out through many channels—Social Security disability pensions, aid to families with dependent children, general welfare assistance, supplementary security income, food stamps, school lunch programs, basic educational opportunity grants, price supports



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**As long as poverty pays well, the number in poverty but for 'income security' programs will continue to grow and our affluence will continue to decline. It is that slide into the abyss that Reagan has worked hard to reverse**

for farmers, maritime subsidies, mass transit subsidies, heating-cost allowances for low-income families, and many more. Let us take Social Security disability pensions for analysis.

You would think that the supply of disabled people would be completely inelastic. To get a disability pension, you must have been unable to work for at least five months and there must be no prospect that your disability will be cured in the next 12 months. That would seem to fix the population eligible for disability pensions with no possibility for expansion due to an incentive factor.

Disability pensions were first provided under the Social Security system in mid-1957 for workers aged fifty to 64. They were expanded to cover all workers late in 1960. In addition, the monthly payment has grown from $97 in 1961 to over $400. The monthly payment has gone up relative to the wage rate. As it has done so, the number of disabled workers has grown much faster than the total work force. From two million in 1961, the number has expanded to five million currently.

Professor Donald Parsons investigated this phenomenon as part of a project in which he was trying to find out why so many men of prime working age—35 to 64—had dropped out of the work force. The proportion of men 35 to 44 years of age who do not work has more than doubled since 1953, rising from 1.8 to 4.3 per cent. In the 45 to 54 age group, the proportion has increased from 3.5 to 8.7 per cent. And in the 55 to 64 age group the proportion has increased from 12 to 27 per cent.

Professor Parsons measured the effect of a number of factors. He found that the primary factor causing an increase in the proportion of men withdrawing from the labor force was a rise in the pay for not working. He found that a 10 per cent increase in disability pensions increased the rate of non-participation in the work force by 6 per cent, other things being equal. A 10 per cent increase in monthly general welfare payments increased the non-participation rate by 3 per cent.

Parsons's findings are illustrative of a general principle. If we tax people for working and subsidize them for not working, we will create more poverty to be subsidized by income-redistribution schemes. We see this same effect in many areas. We can look, for example, at the consequences of different levels of unemployment compensation. The higher the level of benefits relative to previous take-home pay, the long-

**Table 2**

**Growth Rate of Adjusted Gross Income and Tax Revenues For Tax Returns Reporting Income of $50,000 or More Before and After the 1964 Tax Cut**

| Year | Adjusted gross income (Billions of constant 1963 dollars) | Tax revenue collected (Billions of constant 1963 dollars) | Average tax rate (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 13.75 | 5.21 | 37.9 |
| 1962 | 13.62 | 5.04 | 37.0 |
| 1963 | 14.60 | 5.38 | 36.8 |
| 1964 | 17.67 | 6.08 | 34.4 |
| 1965 | 21.33 | 7.20 | 33.8 |
| 1966 | 23.65 | 7.97 | 33.7 |
| | Growth (Per cent) | | |
| 1961-63 | 6.2 | 3.3 | — |
| 1963-65 | 46.1 | 33.8 | — |

*Source:* Internal Revenue Service, *Statistics of Income: Individual Income Tax Returns* (Annual).



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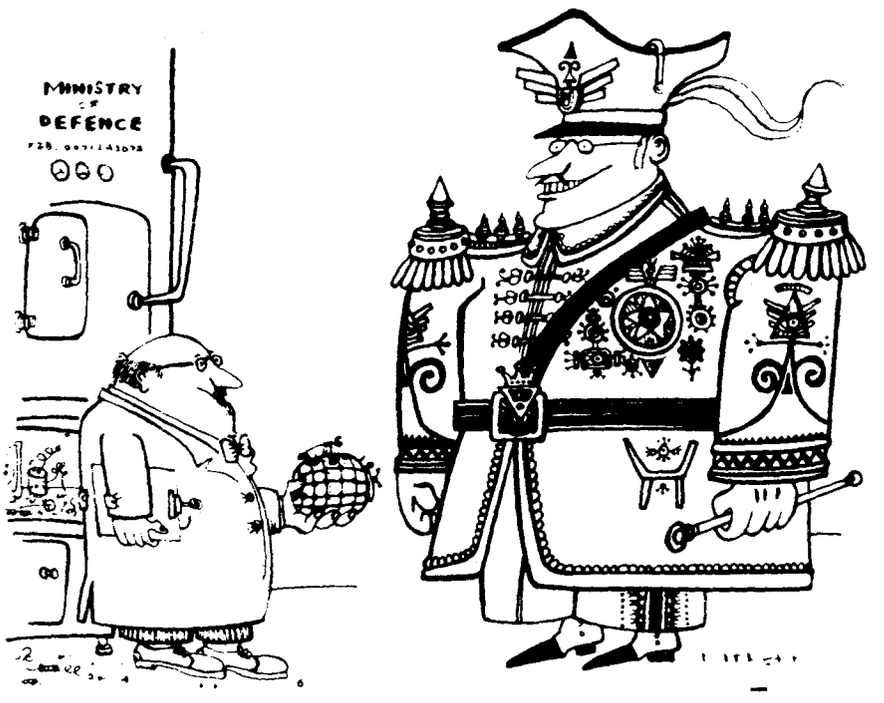
# help !!!!

## Growing Up

As people in their forties fret
About a lack of etiquette,
Statistics show there's been a run
On books that summarize what's done.
What isn't done they know about
From years of letting it hang out,
So as they struggle to succeed,
*Do* let them read and read. And read.

W. H. VON DREELE




Birkett, *Punch* — Rothco

*"The neutron anti-personnel grenade, General—it kills enemy troops, without ruining their uniforms."*

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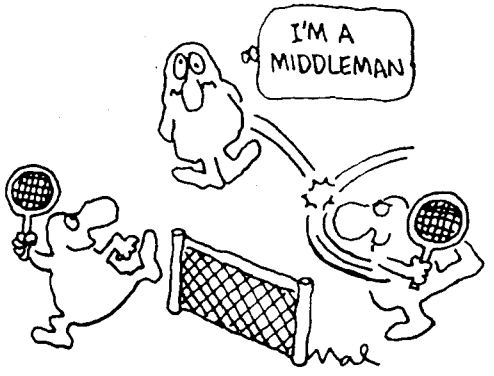


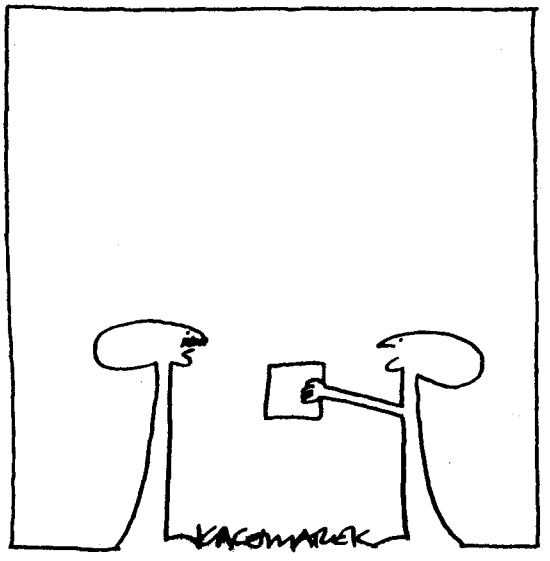


*"It took me 35 years to lose my idealism and you had to find it."*

*"The moment I fall asleep it starts. Always, always it starts. First, there's the eerie glow. Then out of the glow emerge these awful, huge, hideous teeth. Closer and closer they come. I scream. My wife awakens me. She says, 'He's not President any more.' I go back to sleep. Then the eerie glow starts again."*

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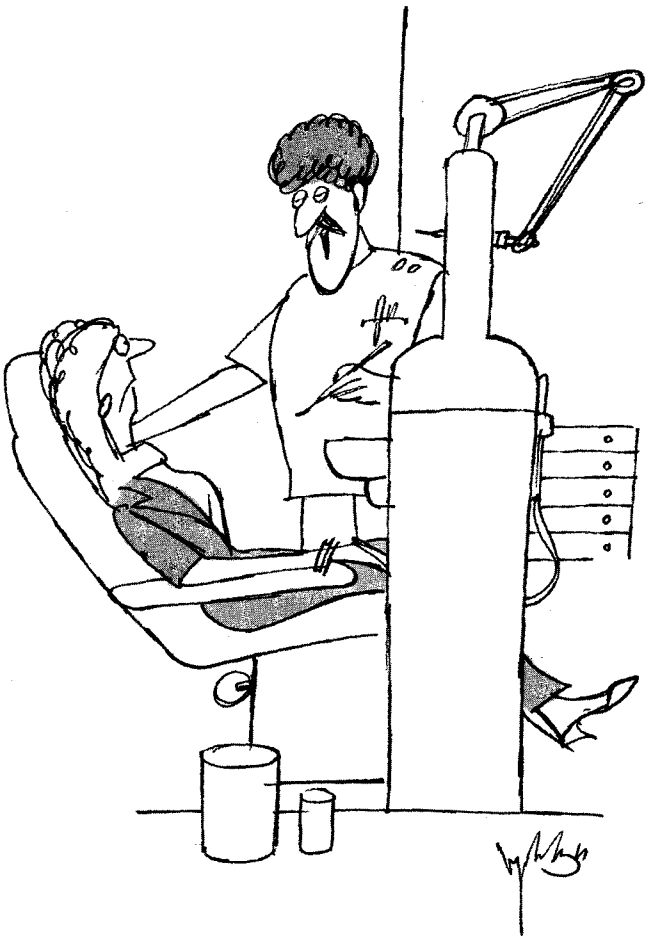
er workers remain unemployed and the more frequent their spells of unemployment. In the states which provide early unemployment benefits—i.e., those in which no waiting period or only a short waiting period is required before unemployed workers can start drawing benefits—and also in states which provide benefits to workers who quit voluntarily and early benefits for people who are on strike, unemployment rates are higher than in states which are less open-handed.

The whole potpourri of "income maintenance" programs, which has only been touched on in this discussion, has had the effect of inducing people to give up employment. Formerly, the majority of the lowest quintile of families (ranked by income) obtained income from employment. Now, only a minority do so, since income without work has become available on increasingly generous terms. In 1953, 58 per cent of the heads of low-income families were employed. In 1978, a prosperous year, only 41 per cent of the heads of low-income families chose to work. Income maintenance programs have been sufficiently generous that many households whose head does not choose to work are in the second quintile of families ranked by income despite that choice. The proportion of households in the second quintile whose head does not choose to work has doubled in the past twenty years, rising from 12 per cent in 1960 to 24 per cent in 1978. The proportion of families in this quintile where the head of household does work has dropped from 81 to 69 per cent.

Nonetheless, the withdrawal of a male head of household from the work force appears (albeit from very sketchy evidence) to reduce family income by about one-third despite the replacement of lost income from other sources. In other words, our income-maintenance programs have provided an incentive to become poverty-stricken. Many prefer leisure to the income obtainable by working even when it means some sacrifice of income, provided the sacrifice does not exceed one-half of the earnings obtainable from a job. As Edgar K. Browning reports in *Redistribution and the Welfare System*, "The low-income population appears to have become less self-supporting and more dependent on government transfers over the past two decades."



**"You have six cavities but your gold inlays are appreciating."**

Another consequence of this withdrawal from participation in the work force is that our capital stock is focused on a smaller work force. Because of this, the productivity of our tools and other equipment is reduced. With a less productive capital stock, the incentive to save and invest is dampened, in turn, and the growth rate of our national income is slowed.

The course down which public policy has been proceeding is one which has been increasing poverty, destroying capital, and decreasing the rate of capital formation. Many plants are being shut down and the capital invested in them disposed of even though they would still be economically useful if resources were appropriately priced. Some steel mills owned by U.S. Steel are being junked, for example, because the over-pricing of labor makes them uneconomic to operate. Because we pay the unemployed and those living in poverty so well, we are getting a rise in unemployment and a rise in the number living in poverty. The amount of unemployment responds to the demand for unemployment and poverty. The Reagan Administration understands this, fortunately, and has been taking action to help those in poverty *without increasing the demand for poverty*—for example, by persuading Congress to repeal the 8-cent-a-gallon increase in milk prices that was scheduled to go into effect on April 1 of last year, saving the government and us taxpayers $147 million and saving consumers $1.4 billion. It is proposing to further decrease poverty by actually decreasing the demand for poverty.

President Reagan is being criticized for reducing the generosity of the programs which subsidize unemployment and withdrawal from the work force. But if we do not decrease the rewards for not working, there will continue to be a decreasing participation rate, falling productivity, and declining real wages. Poverty will increase because people do what they are rewarded for doing. As long as poverty pays well, the number in poverty but for the various "income security" programs will continue to grow and our affluence will continue to decline. It is that slide into the abyss that Reagan has worked hard to reverse by developing proposals for changes in government programs that, if instituted, will turn the country around.

President Reagan has proposed the course of action that will begin to do that job. In doing so, he has stepped on the toes of almost every group feeding at the federal trough. His proposals, *if enacted*, will cause some pain for awhile as we adjust our expectations and rid ourselves of the "cargo cult" mentality that has grown up in the last two decades. But the reward will be greater affluence for *everyone*, with a reinvigoration of American industry and a re-establishment of American leadership in innovation and productivity. □



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*The principal function of a human-rights policy which emphasizes motives rather than consequences, our UN Ambassador argues, is to make us feel good about ourselves. It feels good to be good, but is this good foreign policy?*

# Why Not Abolish Ignorance?

JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK

I WOULD LIKE to say a word by way of preface about my own relationship with the subject of human rights and foreign policy. Somewhat to my surprise, after the article of mine ["Dictatorships and Double Standards"] that appeared in *Commentary* in November 1979—the article the President read—I began to find myself described as a critic of Carter's human-rights policy and even as a *leading* critic of Carter's human-rights policy. The surprise to me was that I didn't know that I had written an article about human-rights policy at all. It had not been my intention. The words were never used in the article, and when I finished it I didn't think it was about that. I still don't, except that everybody else does—and that fact alone has led me to speculate a good deal about what it was that was going on here.

From my point of view I was describing in that article the failure of a policy to produce its expected goals. The goals, I thought, were moderation and democracy; and the results, I thought, were Khomeini and the Ortegas. The decisive instrument of the failure, I thought and still think, was a mistaken conception of how democracy comes into being, of how democracy is established and how it is preserved. And it was only after other people began to describe this as an article about human-rights policy that I began to do some serious reading about our human-rights policy and discovered that, indeed, human-rights policy had become for the Carter Administration—and I guess in the minds of a great many other people—co-terminous with the promotion of democratic government and of all good things in the world. Once I really began to look into it I decided, yes, I *was* a critic of *that* human-rights policy—and I've been visibly a critic of it ever since.

In thinking about this, I began where I always begin when I try to think about a problem. It seems to me always necessary to know what we are talking about. How can we discuss human rights unless we know what they are, and how can we relate them to human-rights policies unless we know what kinds of content a human-rights policy would have? It seemed to me as I thought about it all that there were four distinctions that were crucial to thinking about human rights and human-rights policy which frequently get lost sight of in our time.

The first distinction is the distinction between ideas and institutions. The second distinction is one between rights and goals. The third distinction is one between intentions and consequences. And the fourth distinction, finally, is the distinction between private and public morality.

We look first at the distinction between ideas and institutions. It seems to me that it is terribly important to bear in mind at all times that the idea of a right is very easy to conceive; and we can claim any right that we can think of. One of the characteristics of ideas, of words, is that they are highly susceptible to change. We can drop one set of ideas, or one set of rights we claim, and we can emphasize other ideas. And we can do it more or less at our will for the moment. We are in charge when we talk about ideas. Those of us who are specialists in the manipulation of ideas are in charge.

INSTITUTIONS on the other hand involve millions of other real, honest-to-God, living, flesh-and-blood people. Institutions involve the subjectivities of other people; furthermore, they rest on the expectations of other people. They are shaped by the experience of other people. They are made up of habits and internalized values and beliefs, and, from time to time, of course, they rest also on coercion. These internalized expectations become inextricably bound up with the identity of the people who hold the expectations; they are reinforced with habit, and are extremely resistant to change. This is, by the way, one of the reasons that revolutionaries are frequently prepared to write off a generation when they seek genuine change: they know that the internalized expectations of the existing generation will prove so resistant to change that they will never really be able to achieve a new set of identifications and a new set of expectations such as would be necessary to consummate the revolution.

Rights, then, are easy to claim and extremely difficult to translate into reality. Edmund Burke, of course, spoke precisely and frequently to the distinction that I am talking about—the distinction between ideas and institutions. He said on one occasion of the French Revolution, "I should therefore suspend my congratulations on the liberty of France until I was informed as to how it has been combined with government, with public force, with discipline,

*Mrs. Kirkpatrick is the United States Ambassador to the United Nations. This article is adapted from a speech she gave to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City.*



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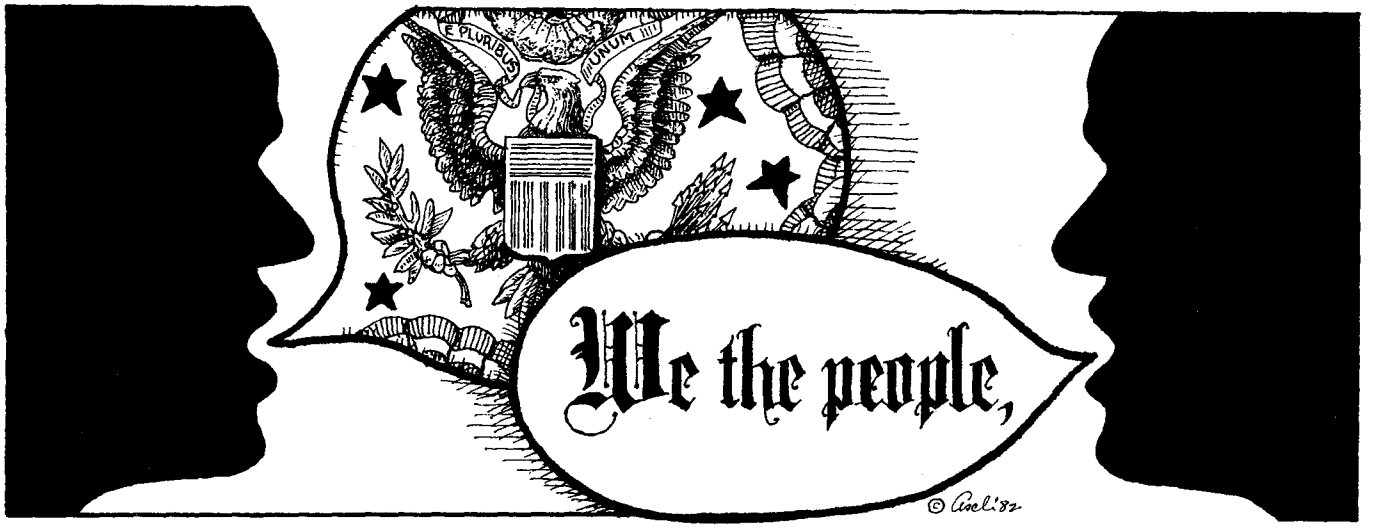


with obedience of armies, with the collection and the effectiveness of a well distributed revenue, with morality and religion, with solidity and property, with peace and order, with civil and social manners. All these are good things, too. Without them liberty is of no benefit whilst it lasts and is not likely long to continue." That is, he said he would not congratulate the French on their revolution until he knew that the idea of liberty had been translated into the reality of the daily institutional lives of the people.

Robert Owen proposed once—he was both rationalist and utopian, a man with marvelously good intentions—that there should be organized a world convention to emancipate the human race from ignorance, poverty, division, sin, and misery. I think we've got one of those world conventions, by the way, over where I live. But, in our time, no one would propose a world convention. Or if we had a world convention, it would propose a declaration, you know, a universal declaration of rights; and we would say that people had a right to live free of ignorance and poverty, division and sin and misery. And we would attempt then to hold other nations responsible, I think, for the disappearance of these ills. Applied to human rights and foreign policy, disregarding the distinction between ideas and institutions leads to an expectation that declarations of rights have existential status and that they constitute valid, practical programs of action.

The second distinction I want to emphasize is the distinction between rights and goals. In our time, as everybody here knows, rights proliferate at an absolutely extraordinary level with extraordinary speed. To the familiar old eighteenth century rights of life, liberty, security of persons and property have been added the right to nationality, the right to privacy, equal rights in marriage, the right to education, the right to culture, the right to leisure, the right to the full development of one's personality and powers, the right to self-determination, self-government, the right to adequate standards of living. For every goal toward which human beings have worked there is, in our time, a right. Neither nature nor experience nor probability informs these lists of entitlements. The fact that they are without any possibility of realization, however—and they are—does not mean that they are without consequences. There are important consequences.

Treating goals as rights is grossly misleading about the way in which real goals are achieved in real life. Rights are vested in persons or, in our time, sometimes in groups. Goals are achieved by the effort of persons. The language of rights subtly vests the responsibility for achievement in some "other"—some other person, some other group, some other entity. If the people of the world do not enjoy their full economic rights, it must be because someone—say for example the monopoly capitalists, say for example us, or the Zionists or Communists or male chauvinists or someone—is depriving them of their rightful due.

THE THIRD distinction is the distinction between intention and consequence. In political philosophy, as in ethics, there are theories that emphasize motives and there are theories that emphasize consequences. We talk about the ethics of motives and the ethics of consequences. Now preoccupation with motives is a very well-known characteristic of a particular kind of political actor whom in our time we call a political purist; and we also know that political purists have multiplied in our times, they have proliferated almost as rapidly as rights. The distinguishing characteristic of the political purist is his emphasis on internal criteria. Doing what one knows is right becomes for him more important than producing any given desirable result. In human rights and foreign policy the tendency to prefer an ethic of motives to an ethic of consequences leads to an overweening concern with the purity of our intentions as embodied in our policies. When the morality of the motive is more important, or viewed as more important, than the consequences, then we become, of course, less concerned about whether or not we have in fact created, let's say, a new form of tyranny in a place like Iran, or contributed to the creation of it, than we are concerned with the morality of our own good intentions. The principal function of a human-rights policy which emphasizes motives rather than consequences, I have argued and I believe, is to make us feel good about ourselves. It feels good to feel good. One wonders about that as a function of foreign policy, however, or a goal of foreign policy.

The fourth distinction is the distinction between personal morality and political morality. Personal morality clearly derives from the characteristics of single individuals, and it depends on the cultivation of personal virtues like faith,



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hope, charity, discipline, and reliability. Political morality on the other hand depends not on the personal morality of individuals but on the juxtaposition and interrelation of parts of a society. This is a fact that is very well known in political philosophy and has been at least since the time of Plato, who very well understood that juxtaposition, defined in terms of the relationship of the parts of a society. It was just as clear to the Founding Fathers of this country. All the important political goods—democracy, due process, protection of rights to free speech, assembly—are, as the Founding Fathers understood, the consequence of a wisely structured constitution.

Aristotle was, of course, the first one to state this. The Founding Fathers did a marvelously creative job, though, of applying it and creating a government which would in fact ensure those rights which they cherished. It is very significant in this regard, by the way, that the Founding Fathers proposed to ensure those rights precisely by the arrangement of offices in the Constitution, not by the Bill of Rights. I think the real significance of the non-inclusion of the Bill of Rights is that they thought it was unnecessary; they were convinced, I think quite rightly, that they had provided protection of those rights in the arrangement of offices in the Constitution, that well-constructed Constitution to which they attached importance. Rights then, they believed and I believe, are embodied in institutions, not in rhetoric.

Where does this leave us about human rights and foreign policy, if you believe these distinctions are important and must be taken into account by a sound foreign policy with any chance of success? It seems to me, first of all, that it does not say anything to us about human rights not being an important goal or an important factor in our foreign policy. The end of a foreign policy should be to produce positive consequences for the potential beneficiary. Such a policy will, I think, take careful account of the concrete context of our actions. It will carefully calculate the means available and appropriate for achieving the desired end. It will take account of the interrelations between the means and the ends, remembering always that human society is as complex as human nature itself. I believe that we have had in our foreign policy enough of rationalism, and purism, enough of private virtue in public places. It is my hope that, in its approach to human rights and foreign policy, this Administration will take the cure of history.

The cure of history is nothing more or less than the cure of reality. And if we take the cure of history we will, I think, discover something about the very essence of freedom and the very essence of human rights. We will discover that the freedom of the American people is based not on the marvelous and inspiring slogans of a Thomas Paine but, in fact, on the careful web of restraints, of permission, of interests, of tradition woven by the Founding Fathers into the Constitution and explained in *The Federalist Papers*. And rooted, of course, in our concrete rights as Englishmen. Just similarly we will find, if we take the cure of history, that the freedoms of modern France consist of and are built not on the slogans of the French Revolution, stirring though these claims of rights may be, but on the very long, arduous struggles of the French people to give reality to those slogans—a reality that exists in the constitutional structure, in the conventions, in the institutions of French society and French politics.

Time, of course, will tell whether our more modest expectations will prove more productive of human freedom and well-being. □

# Prince Charles and Lady Diana Didn't Marry

"FOR EXAMPLE," my friend Henry Littlefinger was saying, "look at last summer's, quote, royal wedding, unquote. I bet every TV viewer in every living room in the world believed an actual marriage took place."

"You mean, there wasn't really a wedding between Prince Charles and Lady Diana?"

He nodded and gave me a big grin. "And there isn't a baby, either—a real baby. They don't call me King of the Doco-Drama for nothing."

Henry started out as a suede-shoe salesman, but he got into TV when it began to mix fact and fiction so well that viewers didn't—and don't—know which is which. I hadn't seen him in some time, and he was bringing me up to date on his accomplishments in the field, along with its history. "Doco-Drama got started during the Vietnam War," he told me.

"You mean, there was no real war?"

"Oh, some of it really happened," he said, "but we found out that sticking to the facts is so humdrum that sponsors hate it. They prefer what we call Life-like Lies or Larger Truth. Viewers prefer that, too. Otherwise, they start turning the dial, which is how come our space program almost failed."

"*That* was yours?"

"Sure was—after we wrote in the Moon-landing bit. Up to then, Moon shows had fallen below *Gilligan's Island*. That was when I thought of putting a guy on the Moon. It saved the program."

"You're right, there. I was bored with all the Moon shots until Neil Armstrong landed."

"Casting the role of Armstrong took months, I tell you. It was harder than finding a guy to play Lee Harvey Oswald when he was shot, even if I did get a Semi nomination for that."

"A Semi? Is that like an Emmy?"

"Sort of. It's awarded each year for the best semi-accurate show. That's one of the good things about the Doco-Drama game. What's tough about it is actually getting it on the screen. Take the U.S. Olympic boycott, for example."

"You mean, there wasn't a boycott?"

"Of course not. America swept the Moscow games. But I had to do something to knock the Olympics out of the ratings so that my Iranian hostage D-D would do well."

'HENRY," I said. "You're fantastic. Let me know the next thing you do. I want to watch it."

He grinned and rubbed his hands. "You and millions of others. As we say in TV, truth is stranger than fiction, but nobody watches it. For example, take the, quote, Carter Administration . . . Or the upcoming Stassen Administration . . ." —JOHN KEEFAUVER



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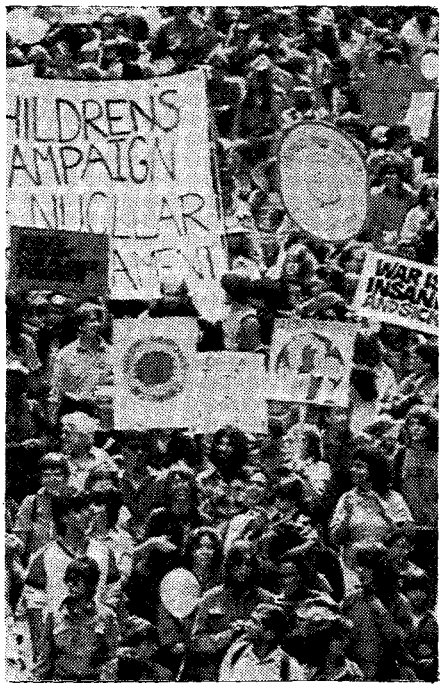


THE BIG PEACE DEMO

# RAINBOW IN CENTRAL PARK

JOSEPH SOBRAN

THE WORLDWIDE community of socialists, overt, closet, and latent—the Hive, as I like to call it for short—has invested heavily in the peace movement, and the June 12 nuclear freeze rally in New York, coming so soon after major demonstrations in Europe, was bound to be a major event. The Hive had to go for broke.

An enormous amount of planning went into the June 12 rally. Several avenues in Manhattan were barricaded off and supplied with extra police, at a cost of more than $1.25 million, not to mention the losses to merchants. The city freely imposed these costs on taxpayer and merchant alike. After all, who could object? Who wants to die in a nuclear holocaust? Mayor Ed Koch went along with the pretense that the occasion was as uncontroversial as that.

The newspapers carried detailed maps showing where various categories of marchers should gather: children, religious groups, the disabled and elderly, educators, labor unions, performing artists, women's organizations, gays and lesbians, computer technicians, and—oh yes—"political organizations." This last implied that all the others were apolitical. That was significant, as it turned out.

Around the country hundreds of buses were lined up. Parking areas awaited them at points as remote as Yankee Stadium, Kennedy airport, and Hoboken.

As a rule the Hive prefers a euphemistic language in America, where overt socialism is unpopular. But times are changing: this was the next thing to a coming-out-of-the-closet party. The national sponsors of the June 12 rally included the Communist Party U.S.A. as well as Americans for Democratic Action (the Hive's right wing, as it were).

The organizers announced their purposes: "To support the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament and to call for a freeze and reduction of all nuclear weapons and a transfer of military budgets to human needs." Human needs? Uh-oh. Sure enough, Ronald Reagan was attacked by name, and his budget cuts were said to "hurt black, other minorities, and women" [*sic*]. Of all the world's governments, "the U.S Government is the least willing to stop its nuclear insanity."

All this was right up front, yet it got curiously little attention in the media, which preferred to notice only the platitudinous. The Hive itself was tactically divided about how explicit to be.

A revealing little scene occurred on the *Today* show the morning before the rally. Orson Welles, who was to be master of ceremonies at the climactic gathering in Central Park, tried unctuously to head off the suspicion that the whole thing was some sort of left-wing do: the freeze movement cut across "all classes and ideologies," he said. "You'll find people from the whole spectrum."

With Welles was Randall Forsberg, mother of the freeze movement, but much less the accomplished media smoothie. At first she played along with Welles, saying that the proclaimed message of the rally was "simply that the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race."

But then Jane Pauley mentioned the name of Ronald Reagan, triggering unsuspected atavistic furies: Forsberg immediately launched into a protracted squawk about Reagan's attempts to "deflect" the movement.

Welles acted swiftly, deftly. Patting Forsberg on the wrist, he said he really had to disagree with her, and (giving it an extra squirt of unction), "Let us give Mr. Reagan the benefit of the doubt."

Nice going, Orson. This was national TV—no time for angry buzzing. A lot of those folks out there had *voted* for Reagan, and there was no percentage in showing them all which way this swarm was heading. Let's just talk about something we can all agree on, shall we . . . save the stinger for Central Park . . . for now the note is, Who knows, maybe even President Reagan—and he *is* our President, even if we disagree with him—maybe even *he* will see the light, once he sees how people of *all ideologies* feel about the prospect of nuclear war . . . we don't want Ma and Pa Heartland out there to get the feeling the Martians are coming!

## *Lining Up*

Saturday morning was gorgeous. Sunny, clear, not too warm. IT'S HOLMES, blared large stacks of tabloids, but nobody in town seemed to care about last night's heavyweight Armageddon. They had the Main Event on their minds.

Kids from Texas were gathering on the side streets feeding into First Avenue, carrying placards and wearing cardboard hats shaped like nuclear warheads. They had a cheery, non-ideological freshness about them. They seemed excited to be in the Big Apple. You got the impression they hadn't read the organizers' statements too closely.

On 51st Street the (overt) political organizations were waiting, all of them hard leftist. The Communist Party, for instance. The Socialist Labor Party. The Communist Workers Party. The Young Workers Liberation League. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. People's Antiwar Mobilization. The Marxist-Leninist Party, U.S.A. League for the Revolutionary Party. U.S. Anti-Imperialist League. (I didn't see any sign of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, though



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it was listed as one of the rally's sponsors.)

Bullhorns on stationary trucks blasted out invectives against Reaganism and U.S. imperialism. Lapel buttons demanded U.S. withdrawal from El Salvador. Leaflets and newspapers seemed almost to drown out the bullhorns: "To Fight Nuclear Weapons, Fight Imperialism!" "Step Up the Fight against the U.S. Imperialist Warmongers!" "National Call to Form a Coalition Opposed to the Reagan Administration." "Nuclear War in Lebanon?" "No More Excuses —U.S. Disarm Now!" " 'Peace' under Capitalism Means World War III." "Socialist Revolution Is the Only Alternative!" "Join the June 14 Nonviolent Disarmament Blockades." "Disarm the Pentagon." "Freeze: Reagan's Pro-War, Anti-People, Racist, Sexist, Anti-Lesbian/Gay Program!" "Will Reagan Legalize Assassination in the U.S.?"

Yet most of the marchers (about 150,000, by later estimates) avoided these extremes. They stuck to mild, banal slogans ("Choose Life"), though some were mildly witty ("Save the Earth: A Good Planet Is Hard to Find"). A remarkable number were from Vermont, where a nuclear freeze has been endorsed at 177 town meetings —including a town called Orwell. What did it mean to the Orwellians that there were a few Communists around? Why should they exhibit a provincial intolerance? ("Good grief," said one annoyed Vermonter, "does everybody in New York think we're just a bunch of country dummies?") This demonstration was *pluralistic*, after all—open to *all* ideologies. As the *New York Times* would later put it, this was a "rainbow spectrum" of political organizations. "It's hard to label this crowd," Abbie Hoffman told a *Washington Post* reporter.

It was colorful, for sure. Placards. Effigies. Masks. Floats. Balloons. Banners. Costumes. Huge puppets. Guys dancing on stilts, admirably nimble. A huge inflatable rubber whale labeled "Save the Humans."

Tom Wolfe was there, looking over the artists' and writers' contingents. Most of them were unrecognizable: soi-disants, probably, from art schools and writing courses, except for Arthur Miller. An interviewer approached Wolfe and asked if he was in sympathy with the march. Not really, he said. He saw no sign of any awareness that the great threat to peace might just be coming from the Soviet Union. He couldn't recall a single instance of two democracies going to war against each other.

Nobody seemed to know, in fact, that the Soviet Union was just then fighting a war in Afghanistan. Nobody seemed to be reminded by this march of the Popular Front days. Here was the largest demonstration in American history to proceed under the partial auspices of the Communist Party, but nobody wanted to make a big deal of that. Instead we heard the insistent theme that all this somehow transcended politics: it was the aperçu du jour.

The march began near the United Nations, turned up 42nd Street, met another body of marchers at Seventh Avenue, and turned toward Central Park. Signs announced delegations from the Vermont towns, from Utica, Montreal, Tibet, Japan, Iran, Palestine. Placards and banners denounced the United States, Israel, China, Khomeini. In the ecumenical spirit of the day there were Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Unitarians. The ecumenical spirit probably accounted for the absence of "cold-war rhetoric" (Hive-talk for criticism of the Soviet Union).

In the afternoon Central Park was absolutely jammed. The marchers had been joined by 400,000 or so others (some estimates put the total number of people upwards of three-quarters of a million). Last September, a half-million had come just to see Simon and Garfunkel. This time the entertainment was supplied by Jackson Browne, Linda Ronstadt, James Taylor, Peter, Paul, and Mary, and—naturally—Pete Seeger. The entertainment was free, but there were the interminable commercials: speeches by Robert Drinan, Bella Abzug, Helen Caldicott, Coretta Scott King, William Sloane Coffin, Elizabeth Holtzman, Barry Commoner. Speakers, need one point out, representing all ideologies.

The organizers' statement had made plain the dual object of the rally: "disarmament and social justice . . . the disarmament and social justice movement . . . social justice and peace . . . an end to the nuclear arms race and a shift in resources to improve the nation's economy, create more jobs, and meet human needs . . . peace and new priorities."

This was also the dual agenda of the speakers, who, from their many ideological perspectives, attacked Ronald Reagan (Liz Holtzman also got in a kick at Richard Nixon, for old times' sake) and blamed the arms race for the suffering of poor people, blacks, women, the Third World, and babies everywhere.

A libertarian of the anarchist persuasion might have suggested dismantling not only the Pentagon but also the whole range of social programs threatened by Reagan. Would the speakers have accepted this deal, if it would avert

## Buzzwords

*The Hive in America uses a fluid idiom of common words to serve as ideological euphemisms. Herewith a sampling of those most conspicuous at the June 12 rally:*

**coalition.** Any alliance of implicitly socialist groups.
**cold-war rhetoric.** Blaming the Soviet Union for international tensions.
**humanity.** Man as conceived by socialism. All **humanity** is presumed to be at least latently socialist.
**human needs.** Socialist or redistributive programs.
**ideology.** Non-socialist point of view. The Hive, however, presents itself as comprising many **ideologies**.
**imperialism.** International influence opposed to socialism.
**labels.** Clear identification. People in the Hive like to say they **reject labels**.
**liberation.** Release from constraints of non-socialist traditions.
**peace.** Enfeeblement of non-socialist powers.
**political.** Overt. Openly socialist groups are **political organizations**.
**priorities.** Subordination of anti-socialist to pro-socialist tendencies.
**progressive.** Favorable to, or tending toward, socialism.
**social justice.** Control of national wealth by a socialist regime.
**strident.** Tactlessly candid about real issues at stake. Overt socialism invites **labeling** by the enemy. On the other side, **cold-war rhetoric** is always **strident**.



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nuclear war? Sacrifice even socialism for peace? To ask the question is to realize at once their real agenda. But of course such questions did not come up in this rainbow spectrum of ideologies. There were no libertarians in sight; no supply-siders for a freeze; no Jehovah's Witnesses; no neo-Nazis for whom the menace of universal destruction took urgent priority over even the imperatives of racial purity. And of course Reaganites (a mere 50 per cent of the voters) were excluded in advance from this monochromatic rainbow. For that matter, considering that this was New York, there were remarkably few Jewish groups. (I saw none, myself, though *The Village Voice* mentioned something called Jewish Dykes for Life.)

All ideologies, eh, Orson?

## *They Don't Sting Each Other*

That night the local TV newscasts showed clips of the event. Some camera crews had gotten interviews with celebrities in the park audience. Roy Scheider, the actor, said something about how awful nuclear war would be. Jill Clayburgh said, "This isn't politics —this is *life*!" Anchorpersons kept using the same phrase: "broad coalition."

Little of the anti-Reagan rhetoric came through, except an occasional exasperated suggestion that the problem was that Reagan doesn't seem to appreciate what nuclear war would *mean*.

The TV reports kept stressing that the march and the rally at the park had been peaceful. There was an odd undertone of relief, even gratitude. Imagine: a peaceful peace demonstration! There was something almost paradoxical about it. Clearly "peace" has taken on strange connotations—which is what usually happens when the Hive appropriates a word.

But why *shouldn't* it have been peaceful? Welles had suggested that the various groups were forgetting their differences for the nonce, as if it were ordinarily an explosive social risk to invite liberals and Communists to the same party, except when the very survival of humanity was at stake. Come off it, Orson. Bees from the same hive have a certain diversity of function, but they don't sting each other.

## *750,000 Can't Be Wrong*

The next day the good grey *New York Times* actually waxed lyrical. It devoted a front-page story and two full pages within to the rally. Seven stories in all, with headlines like "A Spectrum of Humanity Represented at the Rally."

"A kaleidoscope of humanity—young people and old, rich and poor, the famous, the forgotten, and countless thousands in between. . . . They represented a rainbow spectrum of religions, ethnic groups, trades, professions, unions, cultural and educational institutions, [and of course] political organizations . . . diverse gathering . . . There were poets, actors, corporate executives, transit workers, teachers, students, housewives, doctors, store clerks," etc.

A student was quoted: "Demonstrations are usually a political issue—pro-Communist, pro-socialist. But this is pro-existence." And a policeman: "This march is for everybody." A *Times* reporter, under her own by-line, exulted along with them: "And they were every kind of person, there for many reasons. . . . There were demonstrations in the past that were implicitly exclusionary. . . . But yesterday there were parents and children, whites and blacks, veterans and conscientious objectors, Montana Cowboys against Nuclear War and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Grey Panthers and a punk contingent with Mohawk hair tinted fuchsia."

The lead editorial reasoned judiciously: "Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in New York's Central Park can't be wrong."

## *Whose Kaleidoscope?*

For this occasion the *Times* abandoned its usual demeanor of critical skepticism. It went even further. Not only did it not *criticize* the stated purposes of the rally: it didn't even *state* the stated purposes of the rally. Not one of its seven stories—totaling over eight thousand words—found room for the thirty words in which the organizers had spelled it out. Instead the *Times* took pains to imply that the event was essentially apolitical and that the attacks on Reagan (glancingly mentioned in one of the seven stories) were somehow incidental. Needless to add, the *Times* evinced not the slightest discomfiture that so many people should gather under semi-totalitarian auspices. (A rally under the auspices of everyone from the Libertarian Party to the National Socialist White People's Party, though more truly diverse than this one, would probably not have qualified as a "kaleidoscope of humanity.")

The rally was actually a broad coalition of people who hate the West and people who don't hate people who hate the West. It was, rather frankly, leftist. Yet the *Times* felt it had to protect the demonstration from itself, for the sake of the great cause of progressivism—just as Welles, the veteran media wizard, had felt compelled to prevent Forsberg from blowing the whole thing on national television.

The *Times* knows that the progressive cause advances fastest, in the long run, when it proceeds under the cover of conservative forms. The coded euphemism is all-important. And so, on the following Tuesday, a brief *Times* editorial scolded New York's openly leftist Channel 13 for covering the rally with "reporting that at times was strident and loaded." The reporters had said "Wonderful!" whenever a speaker assailed Reagan. They "sounded like cheerleaders" and "abandon[ed] professional standards," grumbled the *Times*. Such tactics "pollute public confidence."

Careful, children. You're scaring Ma and Pa Heartland! And we want them to come to the next rally! Why be so strident about it, when the Hive has such a rich vocabulary of soothing buzzwords? □

# Greening in Vermont—A True Story

"Out of curiosity, he'd gone one spring night to hear Dr. Helen Caldicott speak —he'd spent four years in the army in the Sixties—and walked out feeling so flabbergasted he couldn't keep his mind on his work for days. . . . So Jim and a few friends got together to talk about *this thing*. When a few friends became 15 or so, they still didn't want to give the group a name. Because Vermonters tend to be conservative, suspicious people, a group name could become a target for them, associated with a political line or objectionable ways—easily discredited."

—Jan Hoffman in *The Village Voice*



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WILLIAM KUNSTLER

# Have Gripe, Will Travel

JOSEPH A. REHYANSKY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.—You have to feel sorry for William Kunstler: he's doing it for free now, peddling his apocalyptic hallucinations in Lilliputian auditoria before audiences promised free admission and refuge from a sudden electrical storm.

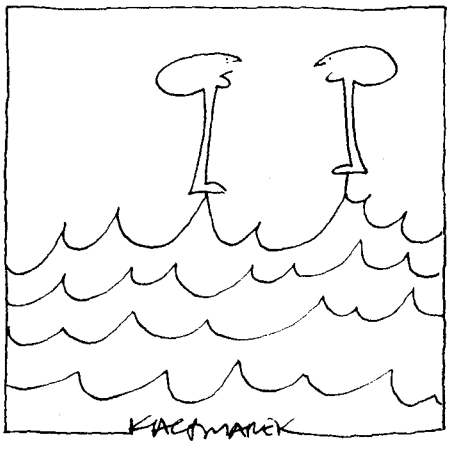
He is, like all of us, older now, thicker around the middle than he was in the halcyon days of leftist putsches and front-page radical lawyering, but some things haven't changed. He's still having problems, apparently, with those eyes on the top of his head; he carefully removes the eyeglasses from a breast pocket during his introduction and plants them topside, where they'll remain for the rest of the evening.

Still, other things have changed, thank God. Bill Kunstler does not seem happy. He's talking to an audience that was, for the most part, not yet in its teens when he was trading barbs with Judge Julius Hoffman in the trial of the Chicago Seven, and he seems to be aware that these are people who are, well, normal—people upon whom the radical message has left no impression, if they've heard it at all. So he starts slowly, professorially, with the air of a man concerned about our education. He's going to review some Supreme Court cases for us, considering just those from January 1981 onward, in order to demonstrate that the U.S. Supreme Court, as currently constituted, is determined by any means possible to destroy the Constitution of the United States and build itself a "stone mansion" of repression. (A master of metaphor he decidedly is not.)

His cursory summary of the cases reveals a number of things: he hasn't read the cases, only a digest reporter (he will later admit this without embarrassment), and he is either a deliberate distorter of constitutional law, or one of the discipline's shallowest dabblers, someone who needs to study and think a bit more before he can qualify as a full-fledged dilettante. His attacks on the Court cover a territory bounded by nonsense on one end, and scurrility on the other. Kunstler's favorite weapon (to borrow a phrase from *Saturday Night Live*) is the razor-sharp bowling ball: the Supreme Court—less Justice Marshall, of course, and sometimes one or two others—is "a pack of jackals . . . reaching back to the dark ages of social progress."

WHAT, one might wonder, does Kunstler have to complain about? Indeed, if James Hitchcock ("A Child of His Times," *NR*, March 19) is correct, if the counterculture is now *the* regnant culture in America, Kunstler should, in Stan Laurel's immortal phrase, be "sitting on the fat of the land." After all, Nixon's gone and Vietnam is in chains; Reaganomics is in trouble and the national debt is over a trillion bucks; the nuclear freeze movement just might turn out to be the biggest boost to left-wing energy levels since cocaine became the recreational drug of choice; and we're now spending, as a percentage of GNP, twice as much on social programs, and half as much on defense, as we were in JFK's enlightened era.

The storm clouds that darken William Kunstler's days are, nevertheless, as predictable as the flowers in May. Bad Supreme Court decisions are those that go against Philip Agee, drug pushers, free and unrestricted abortion, objects of warrantless searches, prisoner-rights activists, etc. Bad, also, are decisions that uphold the national defense, and those that approve lengthy sentences, exigent searches, and energetic police investigation.




**"Is sea level really level?"**

I am not objective about William Kunstler, but I try to listen objectively for an analysis based in the law. I wait for him to make a point founded, however loosely, on precedent, or even naked logic. I listen, and wait, in vain. When pushed, as he is by a questioner or two, for an explanation, he uses one of two strategies: he either warns of the coming "chaos, revolution, and bloodshed" that will be caused by the Court's "callous disregard" of individual rights; or he retreats into a perplexing sort of doubletalk that leaves me genuinely unable to decide whether he is a stupid and ignorant man, or a subversive and evasive artful dodger.

One example should suffice. Kunstler speaks lovingly of the decision that held up the Tellico Dam in order to prevent the extinction of an endangered species of fish, the snail darter. "I rather like a decision that would stay a $60-million dam to save a few fish." But, he continues, that decision is proof positive that this same Court cares more about fish than people, because it won't support federally funded abortion for the poor. Never mind the logical leaps, just concentrate on the contradictions. Like the HAL 9000 computer in *2001*, I feel my synapses beginning to unravel.

He wants, he says, to "demystify" the Court for us, and assures us, in a tone so soothing and pedantic that he must have learned it watching *Ding-Dong School*, that the Justices perform all the same bodily functions that we do (now that both sexes are represented on the Court that, at least, must be true). Justice Rehnquist, by the way, is running the Court. (It is ardently to be wished.) He is, according to Kunstler, the most intelligent, least sensitive, and farthest removed from reality of any of the Justices. Justice Harry Blackmun met Kunstler on a plane not long ago and told him that "Burger's going to ruin the Court. You don't know what we go through up there." If you doubt the veracity of that tale, Kunstler offers as substantiation the fact

*(Continues on page 851)*

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# Abroad

**Tokyo** *In Their Own Defense*

Persuading Japan to take greater responsibility for the defense of the western Pacific has been a continuing aim of United States foreign policy. Japan has virtually no army, and its defense spending is limited to less than 1 per cent of its Gross National Product. The possibility of Japan's providing protection for the vital sea lanes between the home islands and the Persian Gulf was raised during Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's visit to Washington last year, but he has since reaffirmed his intention not to exceed the 1 per cent limit. Now the subject has been brought up by one of his own cabinet ministers, Ichiro Nakagawa, director general of the Science and Technology Agency, who says the limitations must be reviewed. Another cabinet department, the Defense Agency, has drawn up a plan for protecting commercial shipping, especially oil tankers, in times of emergency, according to press reports. In the Defense Agency's plan, the Japanese armed forces would be responsible for the areas northwest of Guam and north of the Philippines, and the U.S. Navy would take over beyond the range of present Japanese aircraft. Observers here emphasize that while these reports are little more than straws in the wind, nevertheless it looks as if the Japanese government is preparing a serious approach to the question.

**Caracas** *Falklands Replay?*

Another "colonial" situation in South America, with parallels to the Falkland Islands, may soon acquire international dimensions. This is the Venezuelan claim to the Essequibo region of Guyana, once a British colony, on the northeast coast of the continent; the Essequibo accounts for roughly one-half of Guyana's territory. Guyana's present frontiers were guaranteed by the Protocol of Port of Spain, signed ten years ago by Britain, Venezuela, and Guyana, with Britain, as the former colonial power, acting as guarantor. The protocol expired this June. Guyana resists the claim to the Essequibo, which is known to be rich in copper, gold, diamonds, iron ore, bauxite, and manganese. It has, however, become part of the 1983 Venezuelan presidential election campaign, and the military candidate, General Arnaldo Castro Hurtado, is making much of it. Venezuela has been ruled by democratic civilian governments for 25 years, and the army sees the Essequibo as a powerful card to be played in its favor. General Castro recently said, for example, that an invasion of Guyana could well be a solution to the Essequibo problem. The present centrist government of President Luis Herrara Campins reflects a hard line as a result of this military agitation, and his Foreign Minister, José Zambrano Velasco, has declared that Venezuela was "despoiled" of the Essequibo; that it represented "one of the last vestiges of colonialism" in Latin America; and that Britain must offer "atonement" for "this very serious injustice."

**Mexico City** *Oil Returns*

Mexico is enduring the fate of countries whose economies boom too much and too quickly and find themselves broke after the spree. Fueled by the outpouring oil wells in the south, Mexico had four extraordinary years of national growth at 8 per cent a year. This year, the Mexican economy will not grow at all. During each of the past four years 800,000 jobs were created. Now, nc more jobs are to be found. The country's woes are epic. The sudden oil surplus around the world has made the main source of Mexican revenue fall drastically. There will be a huge extra cost to servicing the overall $87-billion foreign debt because the currency has been devalued 45 per cent. On top of this there is a vast public-sector deficit, and purchasing power has been smitten by a 60 per cent inflation rate to boot. Many programs have been started that the government feels it cannot abruptly abandon, further confounding the budget planners. Unemployment and undernourishment, always endemic, will be further aggravated, and there will be an increase in border crossings by needy workers looking for wages in the United States. Principal and interest payments on the public-sector slice of the foreign debt will wipe out all of this year's anticipated $14-billion oil revenue. No wonder construction on the 52-story tower being built for Pemex, the state oil company, has been called off. The skyscraper was intended to dominate the Mexico City skyline as the symbol of Mexican wealth and prosperity, but now is no more than an ironic monument.

**London** *Laughter, Some*

The House of Lords, that exemplar of parliamentary bodies, isn't always as staid as is supposed. Recently, their lordships were discussing a bill to control the showing of pornographic movies—the sex cinema, as they call it. Lord Elton, Under Secretary of State for the Home Office, noted that the proposed legislation should include vessels, meaning boats and ships. Whereupon Lord Hawke, a Conservative peer, said that people might take to the air also for such programs. Since many of the world's airlines were in bad financial condition, might there not be special flights? Moreover, many aircraft were standing about in airports unsalable or otherwise idle. The term "vessel" should therefore be extended to cover aircraft on the ground. The suggestion "caused some laughter," according to the official report.

Uluschak, *Edmonton Journal* Rothco

**"I remember when Trudeau was a hopeless idealist—now he's just hopeless."**



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# THE BOOK THEY'D LIKE TO SPIKE

*"The West and developing countries are filled with citizens who by reason of their positions are able to promote Soviet influence and expansionist goals."*—Andrei Sakharov; Nobel laureate.

Sakharov explained that these include *"a great many writers and journalists...and heads of press and television."*

(From a letter smuggled out of the USSR and printed in The New York Times, June 8, 1980.)

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It is an important book that should be read by everyone.

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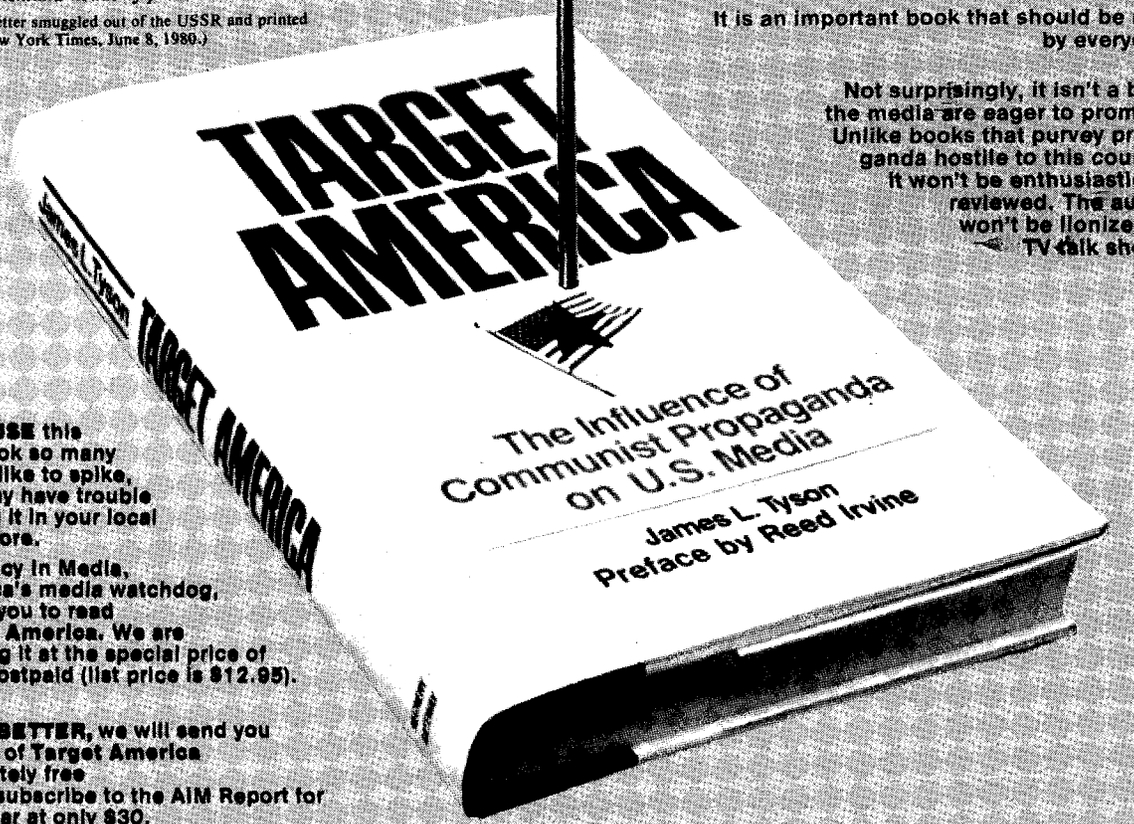


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- How extensive is the far left lobby and who makes it up?

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# Tomorrow and Tomorrow

MICHAEL NOVAK

# Mahonyism

THIS PAST MARCH *Commonweal* published a pastoral letter on nuclear war by the Most Reverend Roger Mahony, Roman Catholic bishop of Stockton, California, which it describes as representing a "middle ground among those saying 'no' to the current direction of U.S. military policy." Since Bishop Mahony relies a great deal on the views of Richard J. Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies, the "middle" represented by Mahonyism is "middle" only if one leaves out the right wing and the center.

"Today," Bishop Mahony begins, "I add my voice to the growing chorus of Catholic protests against the arms race," which, he believes, "has long since exceeded the bounds of justice and moral legitimacy." He adds an amazing second reason: "Moreover, the arms race makes it impossible effectively to end the urgent crisis of world hunger." The same point could be made about money given to churches. It involves the absurd notion that absence of money causes world hunger.

Mahonyism, in a nutshell, is "nuclear pacifism": "This means that any use of nuclear weapons, and by implication, any intention to use them, is always morally—and gravely—a serious evil. No Catholic can ever support or cooperate with the planning or executing of policies to use, or which by implication intend to use nuclear weapons, even in a defensive posture . . ."

Now this is an odd doctrine, indeed. Alexander Haig, Edward Rowny, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Speaker "Tip" O'Neill, and many other government officials are Catholics, and they do "support or cooperate with the planning or executing of policies to use . . . nuclear weapons . . . in a defensive posture." Are *they* now, quite suddenly, in a state of mortal sin? This seems to be the clear meaning of Mahonyism.

Bishop Mahony cites Vatican II to buttress his argument, but leaves out several sentences. Among these are the following: "Scientific weapons, to be sure, are not amassed solely for use in war. The defensive strength of any nation is considered to be dependent upon its capacity for immediate retaliation against an adversary. Hence, this accumulation of arms, which increases every year, also serves, in a way heretofore unknown, as a deterrent to possible enemy attack. Many regard this state of affairs as the most effective way by which peace can be maintained between nations at the present time."

The Council left this view open. It noted that deterrence "is not a safe way to preserve a steady peace." But then, even apart from nuclear weapons, *nothing* guarantees humanity "a steady peace." Wars and rumors of war have always been mankind's daily bread. No amount of "radical change" will change the human heart, short of heaven.

Bishop Mahony charges that deterrence is not the real goal of U.S. arms policy. Our goal is "an assertion of our *national superiority*." He cites Richard Barnet in evidence. He accuses U.S. Government officials of "arrogance," "aridity of feeling," and "moral bankruptcy." He thinks the aim of our policy is a "military superiority" which will "give us a psychological advantage and somehow impress the Soviet leadership with our willingness to risk catastrophe." This policy "looks to a show of superior power and the will to use it, the aim of which is not genuine security, but extended space for diplomatic and political adventures in the world." This is what he thinks of his own country.

## *McNamara's Freeze*

Bishop Mahony does not, however, favor "unilateral disarmament or an unqualified pacifism." He asserts that "An industrial/military complex *similar to our own* exists also in the USSR." (Italics added.) What Mahonyism recommends are "serious, persistent, even unilateral, initiatives toward bilateral disarmament."

The Bishop does not note that since 1968 the U.S. has already tried such initiatives. Secretary McNamara froze land-based launchers at 1,054 and they now number 1,052. He also froze strategic bombers (then 1,364, now 316). Interceptor aircraft numbered 1,800 in 1964, 312 in 1982. Our single ABM system was dismantled in 1975. The submarine fleet once was at 41, and now is at 31. Submarine-based launchers numbered 656 until 1980, and 576 now. The total number of U.S. warheads is thousands fewer than in 1967 and their aggregate yield is lower.

The U.S. *did* try a freeze. Soviet strength has multiplied several times over during *that* period of "unilateral initiatives."

## *Stark, Grim, Illogical*

The good Bishop urges us not to "demonize" the Soviet leaders, and to "love our enemies." But he himself does not shrink from demonizing U.S. leaders, both in the "industrial/military complex" and in political leadership. He cites *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* and John Kenneth Galbraith. He urges "a reduction of current armaments by one-half" or a "three-year bilateral freeze" on all research, construction, or testing of new nuclear weapons systems. This is his personal judgment, he says, but nothing short of it is Catholic.

Citing Thomas Merton, the Bishop concludes that there is "a largely anonymous power elite that is driving us all, in our passivity, toward ruin." And again: "Ambiguity, hesitation, or compromise are no longer permissible."

Mahonyism is, then, quite simple.

One nagging question, though: if our own "largely anonymous power elite" is knowingly driving us "toward ruin"; if its motives are "financial interest or personal gain"; if it has again and again lied to us about "missile gaps" and "windows of vulnerability"; and if it is arrogant, arid of feeling, and morally bankrupt, then why does the Bishop believe that sweet reason, negotiation, compromise, peacefulness, and the abolition of war are possible? And not only in the U.S., which he manifestly despises, but also in the USSR, which he judges to be our mirror image? Bishop Mahony's reading of politics is stark and grim; it quite undermines his logic. □



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# Why Pearl Harbor?

JOHN LUKACS

*At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*
*By Gordon W. Prange*
*McGraw-Hill, 873 pp., $22.95*

*Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*
*By John Toland*
*Doubleday, 366 pp., $17.95*

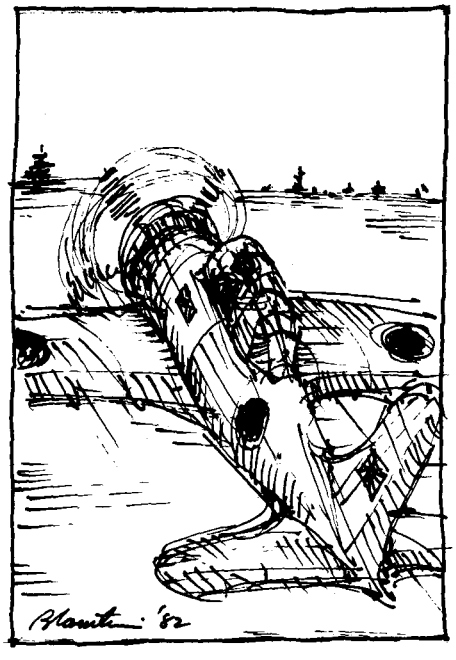
*The Pacific War*
*By John Costello*
*Rawson, Wade, 742 pp., $24*

*The American Magic: Codes, Ciphers, and the Defeat of Japan*
*By Ronald Lewin*
*Farrar, 332 pp., $14.95*

"The question was," recorded Henry Stimson, the Secretary of War, in a closed meeting with President Roosevelt 12 days before Pearl Harbor, "how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot." It is, alas, in the nature of a democracy to give the impression that it has gone to war out of self-defense. George Bancroft, the shamelessly ambitious American historian who had maneuvered himself into the position of Secretary of the Navy in Polk's Cabinet, advised the President in 1846 in virtually the same words: he ought to maneuver the Mexicans along the Texas boundary into firing the first shot. In April 1861, Lincoln, by bruiting the news that Union ships were steaming south to relieve Fort Sumter, maneuvered the fire-eating Southerners into firing the first shots of the Civil War. Who and what sank the *Maine* in Havana harbor in February 1898 no one knows; what we know is that the sinking of the *Maine* gave the war party a tremendous boost in leading the Congress and the President to war with Spain less than two months later.

The sinking of the *Maine* was a shock, though not comparable to that of Pearl Harbor. Both events united the country, at least temporarily. Investigation followed investigation. Nearly a century after the event, the episode of the *Maine* is still obscure. Since Pearl Harbor much has been revealed; but the dramatic character of that event still excites the imagination of historical writers, moviemakers, and publishers. Here, then, forty years later, are four recent books dealing with Pearl Harbor and with the ensuing Pacific war. They encompass a total of 2,313 pages. In accord with our contemporary inflation of documentary verbosity, the thickest of these four books (Prange's) is the least valuable, while the thinnest of them (Lewin's) is relatively the most valuable. The thickest book is also the least readable of the four, which is perhaps the reason why it has received general commendation as well as the largest sales.

Professor Gordon W. Prange, now deceased, devoted 37 years to this book; two of his former students finished preparing it for the printer. It is a painstaking reconstruction of the Pearl Harbor event, but wholly devoid of genius. Its main contribution lies in Prange's interviews with some of the Japanese who were involved in the planning and the attack. The subtitle, "The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor," is a fraud. There is little that is new in this book; Prange's thesis, too, is nothing but a repetition of the standard Rooseveltian historiography: "Roosevelt and his advisors wanted peace with Japan as long as possible." "As long as possible" compromises the meaning of the entire thesis. A page later Prange repeats the phrase: "No one who has examined the great mass of historical evidence on Pearl Harbor can doubt that the United States wanted to maintain peace with Japan as long as possible." This is sloppy writing, and sloppy thinking. "No one can doubt" is not a statement worthy of a historian. That "great mass" of evidence is often political, not historical. *At Dawn We Slept* is a specious title. There were many people, including the President, who knew in general what was happening, though they did not know that the Japanese were about to attack Hawaii.



**John Lukacs**'s *most recent book is* Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950. . . . **Thomas Mallon** *is a professor of English at Vassar College.* . . . **Jeffrey Meyers** *is the author of* The Enemy: A Biography of Wyndham Lewis *and* Hemingway: The Critical Heritage, *published by Routledge this spring.* . . . **Francis B. Randall** *is a professor of Russian history and Communist studies at Sarah Lawrence College.*



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The writer who thinks, and suggests, that Roosevelt knew is John Toland. The title of his book, *Infamy*, is apposite, though not for the reason Toland chose it. (Roosevelt on the morrow of Pearl Harbor: "Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy . . .") The book is a breathless and infamous attack on Roosevelt and on his advisors, though this is mitigated by a few bland phrases at the end. I regret to say this because Toland, an amateur historian, has sometimes provided his readers with information and with insights which were woefully lacking in the compositions of many professionals.

This is an ambitious book written with revisionist vengeance. There is nothing wrong with that: what offends is not the animus but the author's pretensions. From 1941 to 1946 there were no fewer than nine official investigations of what had happened at Pearl Harbor. Toland, simply and squarely, calls his thesis The Tenth Investigation. It is based on significant interviews and documents, and it contains morsels of stuff that have not yet been picked up by professional historians; but, over and above its scattered errors, Toland's entire thesis is single-minded and deceptive. It is that Roosevelt and his advisors actually knew that a Japanese fleet was approaching Hawaii, and that Roosevelt deliberately refused to alert the Hawaii-based commanders thereof.

THIS IS a relatively new argument, based in part on intelligence documents that have become available during the last few years. That certain documents pertaining to the reading of Japanese signals have disappeared since Pearl Harbor seems to be the case. The most important, and most discussed, of these was the Japanese "Winds Message"—which, however, was an alert, not the definite war message. After the Pearl Harbor catastrophe the commanding admiral and general in Hawaii were relieved of their posts. They did get the short end of the stick but—all of the political purposes and undertones of the various investigations notwithstanding—they were not entirely blameless. They had been told of the imminence of war with Japan as early as November 26 or 27. They themselves said that they did not, as indeed Washington did not, think the Japanese would dare to attack so far to the east. In any event, Admiral Kimmel and General Short had more excuse than had General MacArthur, thousands of miles closer to Japan, who had been told repeatedly that war was imminent and yet whose air force in the Philippines was wiped out by the Japanese nine hours after Pearl Harbor.

The theme of Toland's book is that the war against Japan "need not have been fought." Underlying that theme is the strong suggestion that the American war against Hitler, too, may have been wrong. In this book Toland spends nearly ten pages discussing the obscure case of Tyler Kent, an American clerk in the London embassy who was caught by the British in May 1940, after he had passed confidential documents of the Churchill-Roosevelt connection to pro-German people in London because he thought that fighting the Third Reich was wrong. The very extent and the tone of Toland's treatment of this episode suggest that his sympathies are with Kent.

What this has to do with Pearl Harbor may not be obvious at first sight, but the connection is essential. Yes, Roosevelt wanted to defeat Hitler; he tried to provoke Hitler into attacking American ships, but Hitler would not rise to the bait; by the time Roosevelt realized this he thought that the Japanese, Hitler's allies, might. This, at the cost of some simplification, is the summation of the historical case against Roosevelt. Yet in this respect one ought to consider the full text of the famous, or infamous, "maneuvering" passage. Roosevelt was supposed to have said: "The Japanese are notorious for attacking without warning and the question was what we should do? The question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." From November 26 on, Roosevelt was trying to maneuver them into firing the first shot. But the decision to attack had been already made in Tokyo.

John Costello's *The Pacific War* is a massive book by a British amateur historian who looked through the now-opened American archives. It is better on the Pacific war than on Pearl Harbor itself, though Costello is the only one of these four writers who speculates in some detail about what was happening in Washington during the 14 days before the Japanese attack. His detailed knowledge is impressive, but the documentation leaves much to be desired. The footnotes at the end of the book are often insubstantial, and sometimes they do not match the information in the text to which they are supposed to refer.

*The American Magic*, the shortest of the four books, is the work of the experienced British military historian Ronald Lewin, who had worked with and

## RANDOM NOTES

■ MORE JULY TITLES: Jeane Kirkpatrick's *Dictatorships and Double Standards: Rationalism and Reason in Politics* (Simon & Schuster, $14.95) is a collection of superb articles on foreign and domestic affairs, culled from *Commentary*, *Society*, *American Educator*, and other magazines.

*Earl Warren: A Public Life* (Oxford, $19.95) by G. Edward White is a refutation of the accepted view that the late Chief Justice underwent an abrupt conversion to liberalism. White treats him as an old-fashioned Progressive who all his life subscribed to notions of human perfectibility through political adjustments. . . . *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (Viking, $16.95), by Roy Wilkins, with Tom Mathews, is a posthumously published work completed after Wilkins's death by a *Newsweek* editor.

■ SOME AUGUST TITLES: *Progress and Privilege: America in the Age of Environmentalism* (Doubleday, $17.95), by William Tucker, identifies environmentalism as a conservatism of liberals.

Geoffrey Perrett's *America in the Twenties: A History* (Simon & Schuster, $20.95) is a large and very readable volume of popular history following upon the author's earlier works, *Days of Sadness* and *Dreams of Greatness*.

Konstantin M. Simis, an attorney expelled from the Soviet Union for writing *USSR: The Corrupt Society* (Simon & Schuster, $14.95), describes the pervasiveness of the Soviet underground economy.

*Great Singers on Great Singing* (Doubleday, $17.95), by Jerome Hines, himself a well-known operatic bass, is a fascinating discursion on the art of singing, stressing imitation, training, and imagery. The singers consulted include Albanese, Milanov, Ponselle, Peerce, and Pavarotti.

■ COMING IN SEPTEMBER: Paul Fussell's *The Boy Scout Handbook and Other Observations* (Oxford, $17.50) is a collection of essays on a wide variety of subjects by a brilliant, original social critic. —CW



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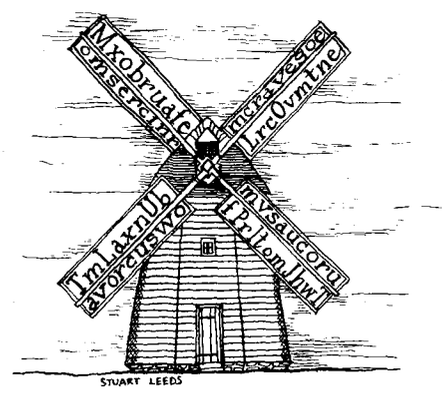
written about "Ultra," the secret unraveling of certain German military signals by the Allies. This time Lewin came to work in the National Archives in Washington. His book is a crisp and interesting reconstruction of how the American reading of Japanese signals contributed to the American victory in the Pacific. I have but one caveat about this matter, and that concerns the overall importance of intelligence. The interception and reading of enemy signals surely contributed to certain Allied victories (as in the Battle of Midway) but they did not decide the outcome of the war. Important incoming intelligence did not prevent Pearl Harbor (or alter Stalin's unwillingness to believe that Hitler would attack him). The vast majority of the material accumulated by the investigations of Pearl Harbor has concentrated unduly on intelligence. Yet, with all due respect to the hard-working and often excellent men in the intelligence bureaux, wars are not won (nor lost) by cryptoanalysis.

They are not started by cryptoanalysis either. The decision to fight is made in the hearts and the minds of men. The important matter is not what happened, or what did not happen, at Pearl Harbor. It concerns what happened in Washington two weeks earlier—to be exact, between November 20 and 26, 1941.

JAPAN was an ally of Hitler's Third Reich. Yet on the highest level the Japanese were divided. The Emperor and some of his conservative chamberlains were reluctant to go to war against the United States and Britain. President Roosevelt ignored these inclinations. He put severe economic pressure on the Japanese, and refused to meet the conservative Prime Minister Prince Konoye in September. In November a special Japanese envoy was sent to Washington. Together with the pro-American Japanese Ambassador, they were to make a last try for an accommodation. On November 20 Roosevelt and the State Department drafted an American proposal, the so-called "modus vivendi," whose terms were not entirely irreconcilable with the Japanese fall-back "Proposal B," of which the highest American authorities were aware. At that moment the prospect of an American-Japanese diplomatic armistice was in the offing. But on the morning of November 26 the White House decided not to offer the modus vivendi to the Japanese. Instead Secretary of State Cordell Hull presented them with an American ten-point plan which virtually called on the Japanese to renounce all of their conquests of the previous ten years. It was the end of negotiations.

This, and not what happened at Pearl Harbor, is the question to which historians ought to address themselves. *What happened between November 20 and 26—not at Pearl Harbor but in Washington?* We know that Churchill, who was most anxious to get the United States into the war, did not definitely oppose the modus vivendi, even though he had doubts about it. We know that the China lobby at the time, influential and corruptive, tried everything to scotch the modus vivendi. We also know of the influence—and this is described by a historian who is usually skeptical of conspiracy theories—of two important Communists or crypto-Communists. One of them was Harry Dexter White, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau's factotum and a frequent interloper in high affairs of state, who drew up a memorandum on November 17: "An Approach to the Problem of Eliminating Tension with Japan and Ensuring the Defeat of Germany," signed by Morgenthau and carried by White to the President's office. Yet within a week Morgenthau and White were plumping for the opposite tack, for *increasing* the tension with Japan. White's contact in the White House was Lauchlin Currie, who had access to the President and who was also working with the Chinese at the time. White's and Currie's Soviet connections were suggested by various investigations after the war. White died at the beginning of his investigation; Currie disappeared in South America.

A host of questions remains, unanswered or unsatisfactorily skirted by all kinds of historians. Some time between the evening of November 25 and the next morning Roosevelt changed his mind and the modus vivendi was thrown away. Why? Costello thinks that intelligence had arrived from Churchill to the effect that a Japanese task force was moving *south*, against the British. But the evidence of such a nocturnal Churchill message is merely putative; and, in any event, American intelligence noted that Japanese fleet movement. There are all kinds of details we do not know. Who really drafted the modus vivendi, FDR or someone in the Department of State? What was Currie doing during those days? We do not even know for certain whether the "maneuver them into firing the first shot" phrase was formulated by Roosevelt himself or by Stimson. According to Toland it was Hull who scrapped the modus vivendi on the afternoon of the 25th. According to most others it was Roosevelt who changed his mind in the morning of the 26th. But the Japanese task force going *northeast*—toward Hawaii—had already sailed at 4 P.M. the previous day, Washington time.




This is why what happened at Pearl Harbor is irrelevant on the larger scale of events—except for those who think that the United States should not have fought either the Japanese or Hitler. After all, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor without a declaration of war, just as the Southerners had bombarded Fort Sumter eighty years earlier. The fact that Lincoln or Roosevelt goaded somebody into attacking is interesting, but it does not relieve the responsibility of the attackers. Had the Japanese not wanted to enter the war, no amount of maneuvering by Roosevelt would have helped. Had the Japanese destroyed not a portion but the entirety of the American fleet in Pearl Harbor it still would have made not much difference. They would still have been crushed in the end. This is the question which towers above all the rest: Why in the world did the Japanese choose to attack the United States and Great Britain in December 1941—that is, *after* the British had stuck it out against Hitler, and *after* Hitler's armies had been stopped before Moscow? Had Japan attacked the British in the Far East in the summer of 1940 or the Russians in 1941, they and the Germans could have won the war. The timing of Japan's entry into the war was the greatest blunder of World War II. That forty years later Japan is an economic giant and a political pygmy is the consequence thereof. □



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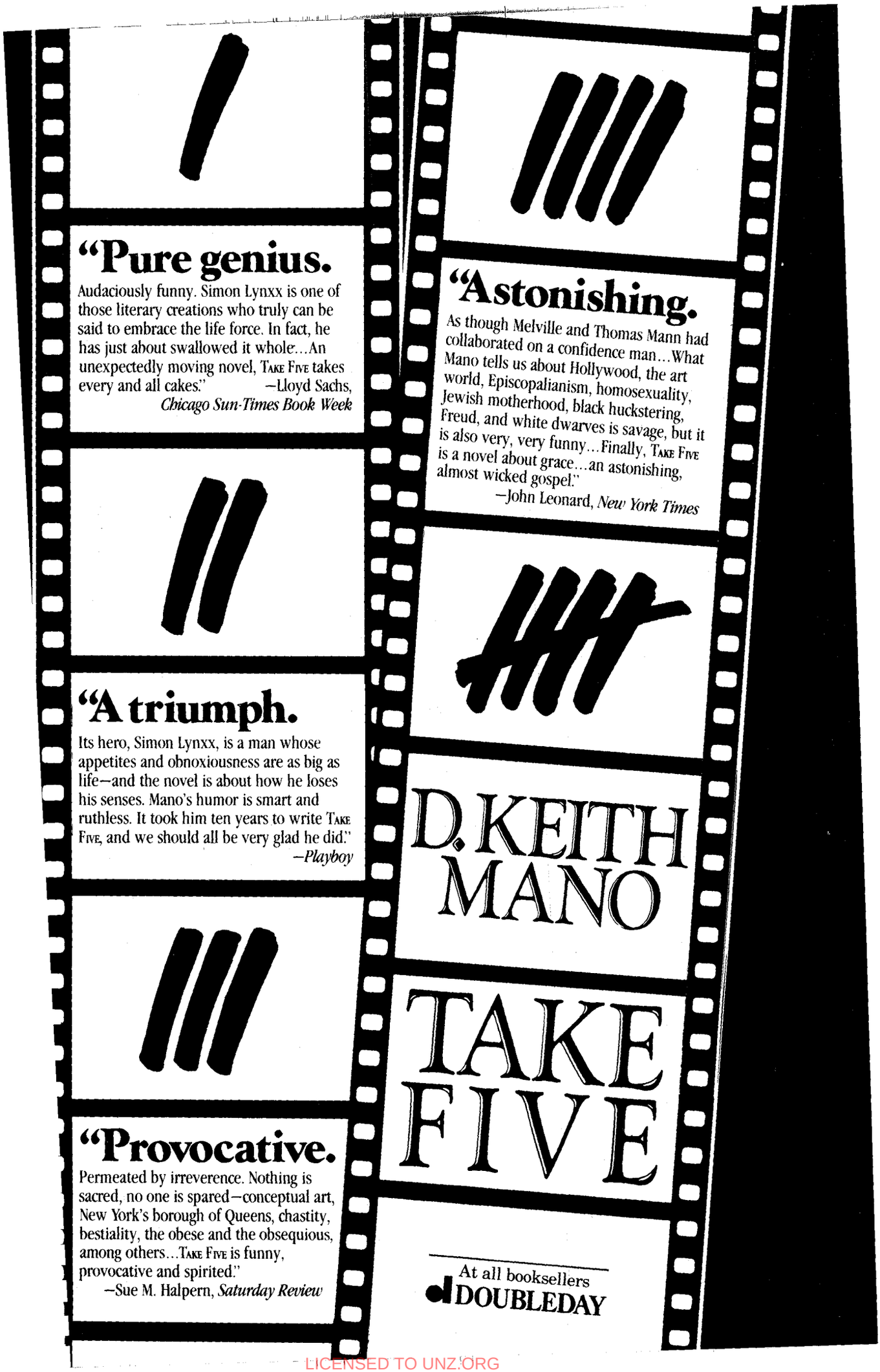
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*The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895-1980*
*By Jonathan D. Spence*
*Viking, 465 pp., $20*

# A LOST GENERATION

## FRANCIS B. RANDALL

There are no Nobel Prizes for historians, but if there were, colleagues believe that the honor would come some year soon to Jonathan Spence, a still-young Englishman who teaches Chinese history at Yale. He has given us the finest picture of a Chinese ruler in *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-Hsi* and the most moving account of the wretchedness of his humble subjects in *The Death of Woman Wang*. Now, in his most ample work, Spence has written the best history of the idealistic men and women who made up China's revolutionary intelligentsia.

This is not a general history of modern China: one has to know that tragedy already to read this book. Reviewers are copying each other in describing the book as covering the Chinese Revolution from the 1890s to the present, told through the lives of the reformer Kang Youwei, the short-story writer Lu Xun, and the novelist Ding Ling. It is both soberly less and richly more than this.

The introductory section indeed deals with Kang Youwei, the idealistic reformer who realized the dream of all idealistic reformers: in June 1898 he secured an audience with his emperor, confirmed the young sovereign's willing conversion to his program for modernizing China, and was forthwith taken into the government to push the program through. But in the fall the traditionalists, led by the Dragon Empress, pulled off a counter-coup, imprisoned the emperor, forced Kang to flee for his life, and executed his brother and his other colleagues.

The bulk of the book deals with the extraordinary but doomed generation of men and women who made the most brilliant period of China's modern cultural history, the period between the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911 and the Japanese invasion in 1937. Women as well as men—for superpatriarchal China cracked with the end of the Manchu regime and allowed the flourishing of the most remarkable group of women ever to enrich an Asian culture. Spence is utterly above gender prejudice in describing this: his soft-sell tone neither prejudicially minimizes nor patronizingly obtrudes this feminist triumph. He tells the story of this intelligentsia with enough quotations from their own letters, essays, stories, and poems to make us believe they are telling it themselves.

He presents at least two dozen major figures, most of them unknown in the West: The middle-aging Kang Youwei, sinking through utopian writings to obsessions with his now-dead emperor and with intergalactic travel. Qiu Jin, anti-Manchu revolutionary and feminist—she was beheaded before the victory of her cause. Lu Xun, China's greatest modern writer, whose short stories equaled his model, Gogol, in nature, quality, and influence, who saw through the Communists but who was so outraged by government atrocities that he moved into their orbit before dying of tuberculosis in 1936. Qu Qiubai, who went to Moscow when it was starving in 1920 and was inspired to help lead the early Chinese Communist Party until he was caught and executed in 1935. Xiang Jingyu, who tried to renovate her country through education, later joined the Communists, and was also executed. Xu Zhimo, the splendid poet who went West for his own and China's salvation, who would have none of the Communists, and who was killed in an air crash in 1931. Ding Ling, the noted novelist and feminist who, after the execution of her Communist lover, joined the Party to take his place. And so many others. Most never joined the Communists and none joined intending to bring on the atrocities the Communists eventually perpetrated.

And then there is an epilogue on the long period of the Japanese war, the civil war, and Communist rule. The main figures treated are Lao She—the author of *Rickshaw Boy*, long skeptical of the Communists, then in high favor with the Party, and finally beaten to death or drowned in the Great Cultural Revolution—and Ding Ling, whose great services to the Communists were rewarded by being slapped down by the Party in 1942, and, from 1957 on, by more than twenty years of hellish life as a peasant slave and political prisoner until she was "rehabilitated," an aged lady, well after Mao's death.

This book, disciplined history, could also be treated as a richly allusive symbolist novel in the French or Japanese tradition. Its central symbol, recurrently enlarged in meaning, is Peking's Gate of Heavenly Peace itself, the portal of the emperors, where student revolutionaries were beaten in 1919 and massacred in 1925, the backdrop for Mao's totalitarian pageants and finally, ambivalently, for both Mao's tomb and "Democracy Wall," to which protest posters can sometimes be affixed.

All political judgments in this book are implicit and muted, but it is ultimately a conservative work—not the conservatism of active, hopeful political effort, but that of the wearied and pessimistic philosopher, Eastern or Western. In an almost final paragraph, Spence allows himself to wonder, "Might it not be life itself that was the net for those young people . . . ?" It is a heart-breaking book about the enormous idealism and self-sacrifice of a gifted generation of a great nation, in the cause of reform, Westernization, revolution, and Communism, which led, in the tearful nature of things, to individual frustration and death, to national tyranny and horror. The book closes with a recent underground poem whose last line is, "Living: a net." □

*Thomas Mann: The Making of an Artist, 1875-1911*
*By Richard Winston*
*Knopf, 325 pp., $17.95*

# PORTRAIT OF AN ARTIST

## JEFFREY MEYERS

Richard Winston, who translated Thomas Mann's *Letters*, was ideally suited to write his biography. He did not interview many people who knew Mann, nor does he refer very often to unpublished letters and diaries; but he has a clearer focus than Peter de Mendelssohn's massively detailed *Der Zauberer* (*The Magician*) or Nigel Hamilton's *The Brothers Mann*. Winston has a thorough knowledge of Mann's works, a mastery of the social and literary life of Wilhelmine Germany, and an elegant prose style. He is particularly good on the relation of the life and works. He



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provides sensitive readings of early stories like "Tristan" and "Blood of the Walsungs"; notes that "even at his simplest and most youthful, Mann was complex and mature"; and is excellent on the genesis of the autobiographical *Buddenbrooks*, which brought Mann international fame at the age of twenty-six.

MANN was born in the Baltic town of Lübeck, the son of a prosperous grain merchant and a half-Brazilian mother (the artistic heritage of mixed blood is an important theme in works like "Tonio Kröger"). He had a sheltered and happy childhood, but did poorly in school and was twice left back. Mann, who used research in medicine, mythology, and medievalism to stimulate his imagination and supply the scholarly foundation for his fiction, modestly wrote that though often taken for a man of encyclopedic knowledge, "In reality I am, for a (forgive the phrase) world-famous writer, almost inconceivably ill-educated. . . . As soon as I finish the book for whose sake I run up such expenditures of scholarship, I forget with incredible speed everything I have learned." He completed high school only to obtain the one-year army exemption, but made good use of his early training in English when he moved to America in 1938.

Mann's lifelong rivalry with his more popular and prolific older brother, Heinrich (one of whose novels inspired the film *The Blue Angel*), began in childhood when they shared a room but did not speak to each other for more than a year. The "tragedy of brotherhood" theme appears throughout the works of Mann, who satirized Heinrich's soulless eroticism and aesthetic iciness in "The Dilettante" and "The Will to Happiness." The brothers quarreled violently about politics during the Great War, but became reconciled when the successful Thomas provided substantial help during Heinrich's disastrous years in America.

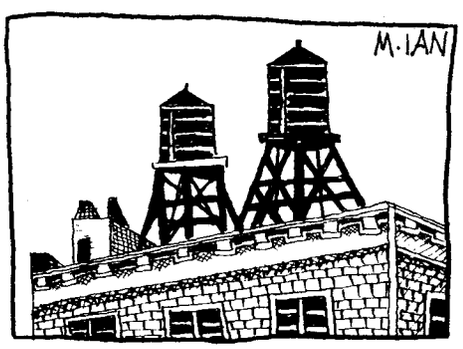
After leaving school Thomas Mann worked briefly in a Munich fire-insurance office, audited courses at the university, and came under the intoxicating influence of Wagner, who became —with Goethe and Nietzsche—one of the principal artistic influences in his life. He employed the Wagnerian *Leitmotiv* in his literary works, adopted the Master's belief that music aroused unconscious emotions, and brought musical structure to perfection in his life of a Nietzschean composer, *Doctor Faustus*.

In the late 1890s Mann lived with Heinrich in Rome and Palestrina, where he felt intensely conscious of his Germanness and began his first major work, *Buddenbrooks*. This novel, composed in a succession of brief chapters, revealed his extraordinary powers of observation and painstaking realism. It was elaborately planned before a word was written, and anticipated the ideas of Max Weber on the relation of the Protestant work ethic to the rise of capitalism.

MANN consistently strove to use autobiography for artistic ends, felt "the personal was given its highest value when it was converted to literature," and was frequently guilty of exploiting friends and relatives for fictional purposes (his sister's suicide appears in *Doctor Faustus*). He refused to cut the lengthy *Buddenbrooks*, which eventually appeared intact in two volumes; and provoked outrage in Lübeck, which regarded the novel "as an act of outrageous impudence or cheap revenge by a ne'er-do-well who had turned his back on the city."

In contrast to Heinrich's eclat, confidence, and bohemianism, Thomas was stiff, dignified, and withdrawn, and could almost never bring himself to address close friends as *du*. (His public readings, however, were masterly performances that evoked warm responses.) While he was completing *Buddenbrooks* he formed an intense "post-adolescent crush" on the painter Paul Ehrenburg, which was transformed into his love for Katja Pringsheim. He eventually wed the beautiful, intelligent, and well-educated daughter of a wealthy Jewish mathematics professor, and had a happy and fruitful marriage. Her brief stay at a Davos sanatorium in 1912 sparked *The Magic Mountain*.

One of Winston's finest perceptions concerns the pattern of sexual displacement in Mann's life and art: "Tonio Kröger's attachment to Hans Hansen is shortly after transmuted into his love for Ingeborg Holm. Hans Castorp's memories of Pribislav Hippe are very quickly diverted into his infatuation with Clavdia Chauchat. Adrian Leverkühn's relationship with Rudi Schwerdtfeger is followed directly by his decision to marry Marie Godeau."




This volume ends in 1911 with the publication of *Death in Venice*. In the doomed love of the suspect and antisocial homosexual Aschenbach, Mann found the perfect pattern for the artist's desperate struggle to recapture the ideal form of sensual beauty, and to unite passion with thought, grace with wisdom, the real with the ideal. It is a great loss to modern letters that Winston died, in 1979, before he had written about Mann's defense of Germany in the Great War; the completion of masterpieces like *The Magic Mountain*, *Joseph and His Brothers*, and *Doctor Faustus*; his receipt of the Nobel Prize in 1929; his opposition to Hitler, exile from Germany, and leadership of the anti-Nazi émigrés; and finally his return in 1952 to Switzerland, where he completed *The Black Swan* and the witty *Confessions of Felix Krull*. Mann's impressive development during his sixty-year career, his political commitment, his intellectual brilliance, symbolic suggestiveness, and artistic perfection give him fair claim to be the greatest novelist who ever lived. □

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*Souls and Bodies*
*By David Lodge*
*Morrow, 244 pp., $12.50*

# HUMANAE VITAE

## THOMAS MALLON

David Lodge brings so many souls and bodies onstage so quickly in this wonderful novel that by page 15 he must halt to take a "roll call" of them. Actually it's more like the telling of a decade of the rosary, because we are at Mass in the church of Our Lady and St. Jude near Euston Road in London one February morning in 1952, and, except for Michael, the ten characters are receiving (and, in the case of Father Brierley, administering) Holy Communion. Polly, Dennis, Angela, Adrian, Ruth,



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Miles, Violet, Edward, Michael, and Father Brierley: we are about to follow them through 25 years of Roman Catholic history in Britain; see them struggle with the Safe Method and the children it begets; move from the catechetical to the charismatic; lapse and laicize; be joyed and baffled by the *Aggiornamento* between Pius XII and John Paul II.

It isn't easy to be simultaneously grotesque and tender, but Lodge is. Grinningly aware of the comedy involved in the theological and gynecological contortions his characters perform in an attempt to live with the papal encyclical on birth control, he still doesn't trivialize their motives and fears; these "New Elizabethans" are not after glittering prizes so much as eternal ones: "The crisis in the Church over birth control was not . . . the absurd diversion from more important matters that it first appeared to many observers, for it compelled thoughtful Catholics to re-examine and redefine their views on fundamental issues: the relationship between authority and conscience, between the religious and lay vocations, between flesh and spirit."

If you hear what sounds more like an essayist's voice than a novelist's here, your ear is good. If you're not bothered to find the first speaking in the house of the second, your taste is sound. Lodge's Catholics live in real towns and years, places and times which need a novelist unafraid of the historian's knowingness, and Lodge's marriage of fiction and history is as satisfyingly apt as it is comic: "In 1953, Coronation Year, while Hillary and Tenzing were scaling Everest, Dennis was persuading Angela to let him stroke her leg, when she sat on his lap, up to stocking-top height. In 1954 food rationing came to an end, Roger Bannister ran the four-minute mile, and Dennis got his hand inside Angela's blouse and onto a brassiere cup . . ."

Lodge does not use this still too rare (and welcome) return of the essayist's voice to sound a retreat to the serene narrative world of nineteenth century fiction. He grafts plenty of modernism's prerogatives onto his realism. He will, for example, playfully swoop down into his own story to say, "I have written about this [the Safe Method] before" (and he has—in *The British Museum Is Falling Down*, 1965); or he will descend upon it with enough sly wrath that one wants to be angry with him as one sometimes is with God—for punishing the very creations he has so lovingly individuated. When Dennis and Angela have a mongoloid baby, the narrator self-satisfiedly reminds us: "I did say this wasn't a comic novel, exactly."

Lodge is in fact aware of all sorts of parallels between faith and fiction. In describing the "agreeably stimulating and slightly unnerving" dogma-ditching his characters perform in the early Seventies, he makes mention of his own enterprise: "in matters of belief (as of literary convention) it is a nice question how far you can go in this process without throwing out something vital."

In fact, not very. Just as there are only so many stratagems for getting through life, there are only so many for rendering it in words. Take marital sex, for example. Lodge reports:

> As a contemporary French critic has pointed out in a treatise on narrative, a novelist can *a*) narrate once what happened once or *b*) narrate *n* times what happened once or *c*) narrate *n* times what happened *n* times or *d*) narrate once what happened *n* times. Seductions, rapes, the taking of new lovers or the breaking of old taboos, are usually narrated according to *a*), *b*), or *c*). Married love in fiction tends to be narrated according to mode *d*). *Once or twice a week, perhaps, if they happened to go to bed together at the same time, and Angela was not feeling too tired, they would make love.* Which is not to say that this was an unimportant part of their married life.

Unable to do much better than *d*), Lodge still clings to his subject. And his willingness to do that gives his novel the kind of imaginative life so often (if I may borrow a metaphor from his theme) contracepted by those contemporary novelists so bored by the actual.

Each chapter of *Souls and Bodies* begins with the word "How" ("How they lost their virginities," "How they lost the fear of Hell," and so on). What a marvelous word, that "how." It's what lies between mere "is" and presumptuous "why," gradually, tentatively, baking the former into the latter. It used to be the novelist's main ingredient, however difficult the cooking. I bless Lodge—and his colleagues like Margaret Drabble—for toiling in the vineyards of their seemingly forever recessed land, for taking that weary country as they find it, and for continuing to write about the history that "is now and England." □

*The Yale Murder*
*By Peter Meyer*
*Empire Books, 302 pp., $12.95*

*The Killing of Bonnie Garland*
*By Willard Gaylin*
*Simon & Schuster, 366 pp., $16.50*

## DON'T BLAME ME

JOSEPH SOBRAN

A lot of people seem to assume that the insanity plea means you can't be crazy and guilty at the same time. In fact, it originally meant that you were relieved of responsibility for an act if (and only if) you really didn't know what act you were performing, like a deranged mother who mistakes cleaning fluid for milk and puts it in her baby's bottle. John Hinckley may not be the boy next door, but anyone who happens to have a loaded gun in the vicinity of the President of the United States and discharges it in his direction is very likely aware of what a gun is, who the President is, and what the act is. The idea that Hinckley was legally insane is to my mind about as plausible as the idea that a man could win a chess game by moving pieces at random.

Here are two fine books about a notorious recent invocation of the insanity defense. In 1977 a Yale student named Richard Herrin bludgeoned his girlfriend, Bonnie Garland, with a hammer in her Scarsdale home. He confessed freely several hours later, before anyone else knew the crime had been committed. He appeared genuinely contrite and absolutely sane. But the Yale community, especially its group-therapy, "politically aware" Catholic set, rallied behind him and got him a superb, but I do mean superb, defense lawyer named Jack Litman. The prosecutor thought he had an open-and-shut case, and he paid the price of complacency. Herrin was acquitted of second-degree murder and got convicted only of manslaughter. If the judge hadn't thrown the book at him, he might well have been free before 1980. As it is, he will be eligible for parole in 1986.

Of the two books at hand, Peter Meyer's *The Yale Murder* is by far the more dramatic. The first half recounts the romance that led up to the murder.



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The second is a tremendously engrossing play-by-play of the trial, ambivalently showing Litman's genius at work as it plays every conceivable angle to outduel the prosecution and minimize Herrin's responsibility for what seems to have been a perfectly deliberate act. After the verdict, we meet Herrin in an interview in which he shows his mastery of psychologese; he rationalizes his act and complains that he is being punished too severely. "There were a lot of factors which prevented me from seeking the help I really needed," he says. "I don't know where to point the finger of blame about not seeking the help which would have prevented the act that resulted in Bonnie's death."

Taking his cue from psychiatric expert witnesses who testified about things like "transient situational disturbances," Herrin explains: "The full entity of Richard Herrin was not in control. . . . You have to understand the psychological profile. . . . You can't look at what happened without looking at those causes that are traced all the way back to childhood."

Finally Meyer quotes several psychiatrists and psychologists who think their disciplines are being abused by the courts. Alan Stone of the Harvard Law School asks: "How can a psychiatrist whose discipline cannot give a convincing account of free will be expected to tell the law which defendant lacks that capacity?" Daniel Robinson of Georgetown puts it just as incisively: "There can be no expert testimony where there is no settled body of knowledge."

In *The Killing of Bonnie Garland*, psychiatrist Willard Gaylin is both more indignant and more ambiguous than Meyer. His book is more a meditation on the events than a narrative: he has interviewed many of the principals, and he offers a lot of undigested material, as well as undigested thought. He is ambitious; he wants to resolve not only psychiatric but philosophical questions; but he never comes to the conclusion he seems to be driving at. He argues that the community has a legitimate need for retributive justice, but he stops short of coming down for capital punishment, and he even lamely says that Herrin's manslaughter sentence was reasonable. Then why did he write this book? If it wasn't indignation at the verdict that drove him to it, what was it?

I must say that Gaylin's book exasperates, but only after you have finished it. It is very absorbing while you are


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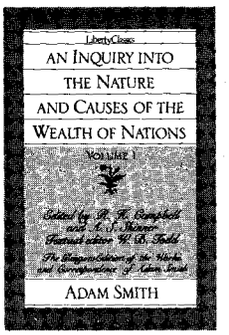


The Wealth of Nations
(In Two Volumes)

By Adam Smith

*The Glasgow Edition*

General Editors: R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner
Textual Editor: W. B. Todd

A softcover version of the edition commissioned by the University of Glasgow and published by Oxford University Press to celebrate the bicentenary of *The Wealth of Nations* in 1976.

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reading it. It goes deeper than Meyer's book, dwelling for instance on the perverse humanitarianism of the Yale Catholic bloc and making shrewd observations about Herrin's need not only to possess Bonnie, but to display his possession to the world. You sense, though, that his nerve somewhat failed him when the moment came to say which side he came down on: he defers to the enlightened consensus, almost petulantly, when he has just made an excellent case for being *un*enlightened about crime.

Neither author thinks Herrin was insane in the original legal sense. And there is something obscene about this cowardly killer surviving to make catty little remarks about the father of the girl he killed, while finding plenty of excuses for himself. As you read about Herrin today, an odd new argument for capital punishment comes to mind: not that we should kill people like him for any satisfaction in killing them, but that it is totally unseemly for them to remain among the living to make choric comments on their own acts. You suspect that Herrin knew, as a Yale man, that even if he killed Bonnie, he would remain among the survivors, with the support of a highly articulate community, permitted at the end to have the last word on his own sin. If so, he wasn't too far wrong. □

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*What Do Women Want?*
*By Dan Greenburg*
*Wyndham, 414 pp., $14.95*

# SEX AND ART

## D. KEITH MANO

Quarter-way through this spawn-rich novel, two soda-headed blacks hold up the B. Dalton bookstore on Fifth Avenue. They're after big busfare and, more important, one *Random House Dictionary*, without which (as you should know by now) it is impossible to create serious fiction. Not for the first time in *What Do Women Want?* has lust or crime been incited by art. *Radix malorum est libri.* Man, people today expect a fat advance just for living.

Lance Lerner, the novelist hero of *WDWW*, writes best-sold fiction pretty much to express and ensure his maleness. "I'm terrified when I'm not working. I'm like a shark—if I stopped moving I'm sure I'd die." Though there are many high-beam sexual scenes in *WDWW*, none can approach—for absolute male-protective courtship and passion—his promotional campaign on the novel *Gallivanting*. Lance has lost his wife, Cathy, through an elegant comic misadventure. Yet, we soon understand, the proximate reason for their separation is novel-building. That was his one unpardonable infidelity, his true mistress. In a decade-after epilogue Greenburg reunites Mr. Lerner and wife. By that time they have published Michael, age eight. But, significantly, no new fiction will be spoken of. Greenburg, I would surmise, is suggesting that matureness can come only when art-ego has gotten itself -ectomized, taken out. Books aren't decent progeny. I sense much down-home truth in all this.

*WDWW* isn't just a splendid picaresque carouse. The substructure has been drawn tighter than tubal ligations are. For his betrayal of healthful married love, Lerner (need I respell that?) must undergo a sexual gymkhana. Chinese teenie-poppets, Dorothy and Janie, represent immature, almost genderless lust. Two-hundred-fifty-pound Gladys—sex as brute flesh wound—will rape him. This after policewoman Stevie—sex as law and order, restraint—has left Lerner in severe bondage. For Claire, though, sex is unfecund corporate power: inter-office memoranda to the groin. Meanwhile June, Alix, Sandy, and Wanda castrate a rapist with, well,

pinking shears. Finally you get Mamma Doc (the cannibal matriarch of Mannihanni, to which chili-bowl paradise Lance has been hijacked), who will eat her own male children. There is a careful progression here, from infantilism and sterileness through sacrificial death by anthropophagy. Males are controlled and, in their own way, in Dionysius's way at last, they fertilize the land.

Yet Lerner is more than a passive, um, shuttlecock. In fact he, not his women, has essential power. Like the Dalton 2, all these females are motivated and swayed by language: they want to write. Dorothy is extruding a thousand-page poem, Gladys a spongiose romance. Stevie and Janie are writer-groupies. Claire is in publishing. June would like media promotion for MATE, her anti-male terrorist group. And Lerner will escape from Mamma Doc by offering the ultimate sexual favor: to write her biography. In each instance femaleness and desire have been bent by art. Fiction arouses: the pen is stiffer than. They deal with Lance as a novelist, not as a man. Books have transformed his normal sexuality into some kind of charm or privilege. They are his special allure. And when Lance is reunited with Cathy we learn that she has become an influential, trenchant book critic. Now she can discipline and order the written word. A balance has been readjusted within their relationship.

Not to mention the balances in his lobe-loose, hilarious therapy group. Fiction, for these people, has become a personal reintegrative act: *everyone* is writing his or her novel. Publishers, at the same time, try to disintegrate fiction. No writer in all of Greater Metropolitan Humanity knows more about publishing than Dan Greenburg. No one can be funnier about it. Here is a reason or two why you didn't get your royalty check: "that there had been more returns than copies printed; . . . that the girl who normally issued the checks had been stricken with ulcerative colitis and wouldn't be back in the office for 18 weeks; that his check had been erroneously made out to the Philadelphia Society for the Jewish Blind." No wonder Lance will become Claire's bed slave. She is, after all, married to his publisher. If fiction can be a substitute for sex, sex might as well promote fiction.

So, then, what do women want? To answer that question Dan Greenburg



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has written a scintillating, important novel about the relationship of sex and art. Women, among other things, want what they—with some justification—perceive as a distinctively male creative talent. Their misfortune being that this talent is, in itself, the male's attempt to achieve female procreative status. Lance, when a father, doesn't write fiction. And so our two genders miss each other coming and going. Population growth has shrunk. And a lot more mss. are typed out. □

# SOUND ON DISC

## BIX, CORNET—PROFIT, PIANO

### RALPH de TOLEDANO

"Bix?" Jack Teagarden remarked many years ago. "He didn't give a damn." This was part of the legend that surrounded Bix Beiderbecke almost from the moment he began playing his cornet. When he died on August 7, 1931, at age 28—a victim of too much gin and not giving a damn—the legend had outrun the man. But it could not outrun his music. The jazzmen who played with him, the critics who wrote about him, and the listeners who worshipped at his feet all attest to his genius. The beauty and warmth of his cornet tone, the endless variety of his musical invention, the drive with which he could pick up a brass section or a whole band—these were integral to his greatness.

But it is the tone that stands out as you play the old recordings—pure yet *hot* in the jazz sense. With the tone went the cascading of notes, the clean *legato* passages, the stabbing thrusts. And he could lay aside the cornet and improvise hauntingly at the piano in music that was part jazz and part modernist. Having learnt the piano as the child of musically trained and well-to-do parents in Davenport, Iowa, he played the cornet as if it were tuned to the key of C, rather than B-flat, and this may have accounted for his wonderful modulations off scale and his fondness for the whole-tone scale.

Once upon a time, you could if you were lucky pick up a Beiderbecke reissue on the old Vocalion label or on the much harder to find United Hot Clubs of America or Hot Record Society pressings. The advent of the LP brought three albums of his recordings. But now we can have it all—or almost all—in a 14-record set ($49.99) lovingly and carefully put together by Blue Angel, which is also responsible for the great Jelly Roll Morton collection reviewed in this space some months ago. *Bix Beiderbecke, 1924-1930* runs the gamut of every Beiderbecke recording, in many instances giving us the second and third takes which for years rested in the dusty archives of record companies. The early records which so electrified that group of young white musicians who developed Chicago-style jazz, the dates with some of the greats like Jack Teagarden and Eddie Lang and Benny Goodman, the product of the unhappy time in which he played with the Paul Whiteman band, soaring out of a half-acre of violins to lend it the mark of jazz—all of it is there, including the evocative piano solos and the sides he cut with Bing Crosby in his soprano days.

The view is panoramic—a panorama of jazz in the 1920s—collector's jazz and jazz for the sheer love of it. The experience of Bix is unique, and this collection belongs in every jazz library. Since most record shops don't carry it, I give you Blue Angel's address again: 1738 Allied Street, Charlottesville, Va. 22901.

In Greenwich Village, when time was considerably younger, there was a small nightclub named George's. The beer was watered and the whisky tasted like Lysol—but we went there anyway. The reason: a jazz pianist named Clarence Profit. To hear Profit, we would have drunk Sterno; he was that good. I treasured, and still do, a Brunswick recording—one of the handful he made in his short lifetime—of "Tea for Two," a popular tune which ideally lends itself to the counterpoint of a jazz piano. (It intrigued Shostakovich as well.) No one, I contend, has ever made as much of "Tea for Two" as Clarence Profit. He was a Harlem stride pianist, but with a touch far more delicate and an inspiration far more powerful.

Profit never received the recognition he deserved, and to today's jazz *aficionados* he is virtually unknown. But although he died in 1944, at the age of 32, jazz musicians still remember him. To

mark that remembrance, the 15 sides he cut between February 1939 and September 1940 have been reissued. Some are solo and some are with his trio. I have never considered piano, string bass, and guitar an ideal jazz combination, even when the piano was Art Tatum. What is remarkable is that Clarence Profit, when he was playing with that remarkable guitarist Jimmy Shirley, could make it work. It may sound a little grotesque to put it this way, but Profit and Shirley playing together sound like one man with four hands, their musical thinking is so conjoined.

The Profit recordings would have been lost for all time but for the Meritt Record Society, which issues limited editions of what we used to call the righteous jazz. These recordings are not available in the shops; you must write directly to MRS at P.O. Box 156, Hicksville, N.Y. 11802 to buy its records, at $8 the shot. I have been playing the Clarence Profit record over and over, each time discovering something that I had previously missed. Listening to it, I can understand why I drank all that horrible beer at George's. It was worth it. □

# BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE CHANGING WORLD OF THE EXECUTIVE, *by Peter F. Drucker (Truman Talley/Times Books, 271 pp., $16.95).* Reading a new book by Peter Drucker is like taking a Sunday stroll through an intellectual minefield. The clear, straightforward prose is refreshing, the rare good sense invigorating; and, every few pages or so,



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you run across an unexpected, almost casually put thrust of insight which blasts some hoary old nugget of "common wisdom" to bits. Despite its overly sedate title, *The Changing World of the Executive* fairly bristles with Mr. Drucker's remarkable knack for bringing complex issues into sharp focus by isolating one or two key factors which, like the Purloined Letter, tend to be overlooked by more conventional minds. (Who, for example, has gotten to the point about national health insurance more quickly or lethally than Peter Drucker? "The only reason, I suspect, that we still hear of a national health service," he writes on page 128, "is Senator Edward Kennedy's—understandable—desire to have his name on one piece of major national legislation.") Don't be misled by the management-oriented title, either; more than a few of these essays are, to paraphrase Clemenceau, far too important to be left to the executives, though the Chief Executive would do well to circulate a few dozen copies of "Six Durable Economic Myths" and "A Return to Hard Choices" to his timorous Washington colleagues. If you first read these essays when they originally appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* and *The Public Interest*, you'll be glad to have them between hard covers; if not, do yourself a favor and pick up a copy of *The Changing World of the Executive* right away.

TERRY TEACHOUT

THE TRACKER, *by Tom Brown Jr., with William Jon Watkins (Berkley, 229 pp., $2.50).* The reports from the suburbs were grim before Tom Brown. Updike saw swarms of bed-hoppers wrapped in silly dreams. O'Hara observed social climbers skilled with shot-glass and ledger book. Troops of sociologists found the bored, the angry, the exhausted. Hardly anybody uncovered anything resembling hope. Now comes an autobiography that shows an urban fringe full of characters and incidents, conflict and resolution, mystery and revelation—in short, full of life. Brown grew up in that great back lot between subdivisions, the New Jersey Pine Barrens. His neighbor was a transplanted Apache who taught him to sneak within touching distance of deer and walk comfortably through blizzards bare-chested. If an animal struck his fancy, he ranged over field and swamp until he tracked it down. Eventually he began to understand their lives, and knowledge gave rise to sympathy. He became a forest creature himself. When wild dogs treed him for three days he amused himself by watching the labors of ants. He busted apart a poachers' shack to avenge the death of a deer. With a friend he built a log cabin in the thickest part of the woods, and when joyriders wandered near he stuck branches in his hair and played wild man to scare them

# Dark Horses

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

A NEW BOOK worth reading for itself but apparently also much in line with the current thinking of the Reagan Administration is *Privatizing the Public Sector* (Chatham House, P.O. Box 1, Chatham, N.J. 07928; $15), by E. S. Savas, Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In the late 1950s almost 80 per cent of the American people were sufficiently temerarious to express trust in their government; by the mid-Seventies the percentage had fallen to 33. Now, Savas argues, the governed have withdrawn their consent, thereby ushering in a dangerous era for the American polity. The chief cause of the public disillusionment is burgeoned, intrusive government at every level. The election of Ronald Reagan was a mandate, Savas believes, for the shrinking of government; a ratification of the long-unpopular minority opinion that most of the work Big Government was devised two generations ago to do has been accomplished, and that the social welfare state itself has fallen heir to a multiplicity of abuses long associated with overweening bureaucracies. There are ways, Savas suggests, "to check the growth of government and to reduce unwarranted and unwanted dependence on government agencies, thereby mitigating the hazards that an overly dominant government represents."

Savas's solution is the provision of public services through a variety of engines, "most of which involve government in a more limited way than conventional thinking allows." Among these are "load shedding"; "limited government arrangements" like vouchers; user charges; and increased competition for contracted work, in which one public agency would be pitted against another for a job, or a private concern against a public one.

The most interesting of his recommendations is the most clumsily phrased one, "load shedding." Although the term sounds to have been borrowed from a best-selling diet book, all it means is: get government out of a particular line of work, and relinquish the job to some private agency. For instance, social and health services: many companies, Savas reminds us, have developed far better health and insurance programs for their employees than anything government can offer; and the expansion of fringe-benefit costs will be made up to businesses by lower rates of taxation. Or take education: about one-tenth of American children are now being educated outside the public schools, often by parents who can scarcely afford the cost. And consider the housing market: buyers of condominiums and members of other "voluntary micro collectives" are assuming all sorts of services which local government simply has failed to produce. Indeed, Savas asserts, "at the same time that government has been growing, load shedding has been proceeding—without overt political struggles—as a minor countercurrent."

ON THE SUBJECT of user taxes, Savas is a little heretical and rather hardnosed, but his argument is compelling: user taxes (on garbage collection, water delivery, toll roads, etc.) are not simply another government infringement, they are an index of pain, as it were: a true register of what services actually cost, behind which politicians eager to offer "free services" for votes cannot hide. They are also consummately democratic, unlike the tax system as a whole whereby "taxes are taken from powerless middle-class *individuals* and given to organized middle-class *groups*." (A truly marvelous formulation.)

Savas believes that there now exists a constituency sufficient to make his reforms politically feasible. The danger we face, he writes, is that government in its present dimensions swamps and perverts all other social agencies—church, family, marketplace—of which government is only one. That fact, long overlooked by modern democracies, is at last beginning to be recognized. □



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off. Brown wasn't the only one fashioning a different sort of life between the housing tracts. In the briar-ridden interstices lived a woman who talked to spirits and a man who fed wild dogs. Gangsters drove dark sedans down back roads to dump corpses. Renegades were the norm; Updike people entered Brown's world only by mistake and often didn't come out again. Once he found the body of a weekend hunter who'd got lost and panicked. The man died within shouting distance of a highway. Doctors called it a heart attack. Brown calls it the penalty for ignoring the forces of nature. Respect for those forces forms the basis of a personal religion that was the ultimate outgrowth of his apprenticeship with the Apache. Its tenets are not set forth in this book, but they nourish it like ground water. It is a deeply spiritual work, the more fascinating for its setting: from a hill Brown could see the skyline of Atlantic City.

PAUL T. HORNAK

DEAREST FRIEND: *A Life of Abigail Adams, by Lynne Withey (The Free Press/ Macmillan, 368 pp., $17.95).* "I long to hear you have declared an Independancy —and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors," wrote Abigail Adams to her husband in March 1776. This fragment of one of her most quoted letters gives a glimpse of the concerns and spirit that made Abigail Adams such a remarkable woman. Even if John Adams had not been elected second President of the United States, Abigail Adams's copious correspondence, with its active commentary on the turbulent politics of the American Revolution and its chronicle of daily life in the nascent nation, would still be of historical significance. These letters are the source for much of Lynne Withey's new biography, which provides a good, if at times historically slight, introduction to the life of our second First Lady. Abigail Adams's own animated, feisty prose constitutes the charm and warmth of this biography; her words are more vibrant and engaging than the author's, so one hungers for more of the letters and less of the simple narrative which connects. And one wants more historical anchoring; pages go by without a specific reference to a date, so that a reader not familiar with the chronology—which this gentle book cannot assume—is at a loss for what happened when. Yet a great mark in the book's favor is that it introduces one to the world of the Adamses, and gives a straightforward, unromanticized picture of the circumstances and personalities that helped bring our country into being.

ELIZABETH GROSSMAN

**REHYANSKY**

(Continued from page 835)

that it is repeated on page 417 of *The Brethren.* And he knows that Blackmun remembers the encounter because now, whenever Kunstler argues before the Court, Blackmun will not look him in the eye.

Chunks of the audience start departing less than halfway through the speech (it has stopped raining). They're not protestors, mind you: just bored law students with cases to read and briefs to write. Kunstler tries to stem the flow by escalating the rhetoric and raising his voice like a fire-and-brimstone preacher who suspects that those who leave before his sermon is over are on their way to a group-grope in the hedges. The Supreme Court has "a vested interest in delay and destruction of rights . . . !" Running short of real enemies, like a Hitler, or a George Lincoln Rockwell, or a Lyndon LaRouche, Kunstler invents them as he goes along. But the students keep filing out. Kunstler's sales figures are lagging just behind those of Chrysler and Ford.

Most of the questions are strictly slow-pitch, polite and inconsequential. I get the comforting feeling that a good part of the audience, or what's left of it, does not know *who the man is.* But a few are telling. How does Kunstler reconcile his activist idealism and his scorn for "making a pile" with his recent defense of organized-crime figures? He took those cases because the government should not be allowed to do that sort of awful thing (wiretapping) to any of us, and after deciding that Mafiosi were no more despicable or destructive than Richard Nixon or Henry Kissinger. And, yes, it's true that he never criticizes socialist countries—*publicly*, that is, because the reactionary Right would seize on the criticism to make of it more than he intended.

I still miss the Sixties: braless, unwashed babes, their hermaphroditic consorts, Vietnam, Richard Nixon, Moon shots, 29¢ gasoline, *Laugh-In*, *Star Trek* . . . I'll keep missing them, too. But tonight, for the first time, I know that they are actually over: Eldridge Cleaver's got religion, Nixon lives in New Jersey, *NR* is a buck and a quarter a copy, and William Kunstler . . . Well, he hasn't mellowed, not by any means; he's just become *irrelevant.*

No one even asks if arson is still an acceptable form of social protest. □


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## Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

LAWRENCE W. REED:

*On Incentives*

One would be hard put to find any individual who would contribute his own money to encourage others to stop smoking and to promote the growing of tobacco at the same time. No one would regard such a contradiction as being in his self-interest. Yet Congress votes to do both. (Actual title: *The Rule of Incentive.*)



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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

# Understanding the Mideast Mess

## On The Right

*New York*, June 20—Concerning the mess in the Middle East, a few observations:

1. It was said of Mr. Reagan while he was in Europe that the Israeli eruption cost him dearly in the coin of prestige. Reagan is viewed ex officio as the leader of the Free World. And this most definitely includes Israel, not only because Israel is a free country, but because Israel is free thanks directly to the United States, whose patronage was, and continues to be, indispensable to the survival of Israel.

Israel managed to launch its attack at about the most embarrassingly conspicuous moment of President Reagan's term in office. It was as if a bill collector had come charging into the hotel room on the wedding night. There was Reagan with seven hundred American journalists tracking him, plus equivalent numbers from other countries, when a client state in effect declared war. The hesitation of the State Department in Washington, and the two-day hesitation of the President, flatly to request the Israelis to withdraw, reflected both the political power of Israel and its friends in the United States, and a latent sympathy with Israel over continued provocations by the PLO along the Lebanese-Israeli border. When the President finally spoke out, he did so most bluntly —and most bluntly was ignored by Israel. Ceasefire yes, said Begin; withdrawal, no.

2. The Israelis' sense of timing may be undiplomatic, but the Israelis' sense of priorities is admirable. The decision was quite simply this, that the concentrations of PLO military, with firepower regularly augmented by Soviet, Libyan, Iraqi, and Syrian suppliers, could no longer be tolerated, particularly inasmuch as their strength was rising to the point that Lebanon, as an independent state, had become pure fiction. Israel's determination to move, prescinded from surrounding political circumstances, was an admirable assertion of national willpower exercised in behalf of national interest. If nothing else impinged on the general situation, Israel could not be criticized. That of course isn't the case, and we must therefore give thought to those surrounding circumstances, foremost among them:

3. The declining prestige of Israel in the area, and of the United States in the area, and the reasons for it.

*Time* magazine published on May 24 the results of a poll administered by a highly respected research institute in Tel Aviv. It was of sentiment among West Bank Palestinians. I.e., a poll of men and women who have experienced Israeli rule for 15 years, and who associate that rule with American patronage.

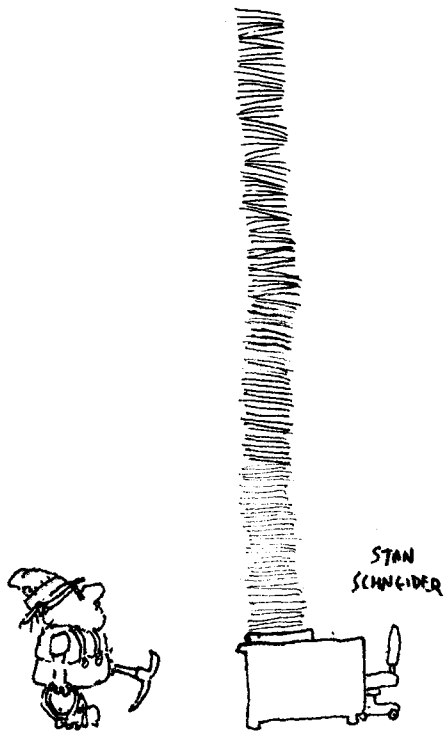
QUESTION: Which country do you admire more, the Soviet Union, or the United States?

ANSWER: The Soviet Union, 72 per cent. The United States, 1.6 per cent.

QUESTION: Are there any Israelis you can trust?

ANSWER: No, 70 per cent. Yes, 29 per cent.

IF THAT is the opinion of Palestinians who have lived under the Israelis, supported by the United States, our diplomatic-psychological problems are profound. What is it about the Soviet Union that has earned the approval of 72 per cent of the Palestinians? Its antisemitism? The support the Soviet Union, directly and indirectly, gives to the PLO? The recognition of the Soviet Union as the enemy of that other superpower which is backing the Israel the Palestinians so ardently distrust?




4. What will be the situation in southern Lebanon, a few years hence, if Israel stays on as an occupying power? Obviously Israel's mission is to neutralize at least 25 miles of what would now be an Israeli-PLO DMZ. But does it follow that that which Israel dominates develops anti-American, pro-Soviet, and anti-Israeli sentiment as ferocious as these figures would suggest? And if so, isn't it time for responsible Israelis to move on the matter of the Camp David accords?

Nothing would seem clearer than this, that Mr. Begin's government has no intention of making available to the Palestinians a homeland on the West Bank or in Gaza. Given the temperature of Palestinian hostility, this may be understandable. But a rift between moderate Palestinians and irredentists like Arafat and Habash has got to be the diplomatic thrust of the next period, and here Mr. Reagan needs to be very tough. The whole Israeli case has rested on the right of a homeless people to find a home. That generality has got to extend to the Palestinians. And a huge campaign needs to be mounted to persuade the Palestinians that there really *are* substantive differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. If there is that much ignorance to penetrate, there is a correspondingly great deal the United States needs to do. And the Reagan Administration should give signs that we understand this necessity. □

### LET'S HAVE THE FACTS, MA'AM

*New York*, June 18 —The accumulation of iconoclastic figures has become a cottage industry. Peter Grace, the chief executive officer of the Grace Company, is the General Motors of the industry, and his statisticians poke great mortal holes in the arguments of the loose-minded. Did you know, for instance, that the so-called rich, without whose malevolence Tip O'Neill and Teddy Kennedy would have no one to hobgoblinize them during their awful nightmares, are not very important as revenue producers? If you took every American paying a 50



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per cent tax on the marginal dollar, and taxed those Americans not by 50 per cent but by 100 per cent, you would add to the government take only 4 per cent of the existing tax revenues. Yup, that's right. The rich just don't figure very much in the scale of things. You can find a maharajah loaded down with rubies and diamonds and frankincense and myrrh, but if you take all that stuff from him and spread it around to every Indian, the effects are very nearly negligible.

Concretely: The taxes from all Americans earning $75,000 or more amount to 2 per cent of federal revenues. Those who earn between $60,000 and $75,000 provide another 2 per cent. Those earning between $50,000 and $60,000, another 2 per cent. Those earning between $40,000 and $50,000, another 4 per cent. And those between $35,000 and $40,000, another 6 per cent. What this means is that a reduction in tax to a top marginal rate of 36 per cent would sacrifice only 9.2 per cent of current revenues. Forty per cent of all taxes are paid by those whose income reaches only $14,000. The notion, then, that one has merely to raise taxes on upper brackets to generate oceans of revenue is simple—well, the kind of thing that Tip O'Neill and Teddy Kennedy use as boob bait.

Speaking of Senator Kennedy and of the cottage industry of figures, patriotism requires that I share a letter addressed to the Senator only last week; the writer is a Mr. Paul Manheim of New York. To wit:

"Dear Senator Kennedy:

"I have been most interested in your comments about President Reagan's proposed budget which points up the great contrast between your brother's social philosophy when he was President and that of Reagan.

"As you remember, your brother faced similar problems of allocating spending between social services and national defense, and it is enlightening to see the emphasis placed by each President.

"*Social services:* JFK devoted 25 per cent of his budget to social services. Reagan proposes to spend 53 per cent.

"*National defense:* JFK devoted 48 per cent of his budget to national defense. Reagan proposes to spend 26 per cent.

"Both Presidents advocated and effected a reduction of tax rates to stimulate the economy—the prerequisite to full employment. It is interesting to see how each fashioned these reductions:

"*To corporations:* JFK directed 29 per cent of his total tax cut to corporations, Reagan 22 per cent.

"*To individuals:* Of the rate reduction for individuals, the share going to the top five income brackets: JFK, 29 per cent. Reagan, 23 per cent.

"This need not inhibit your criticism of Reagan's proposals. You can still criticize him—if not for inadequate spending for social services, then for excessive such spending. And certainly for spending only half as much for national defense as JFK did."

Poor Ted. In 1976 I registered in this space alarm at the continuing increase of federal spending. Senator Kennedy issued a statement to the effect that, expressed as a ratio of GNP, federal spending hadn't risen since the early Fifties, remaining "almost precisely constant at about 20 per cent." Since Senator Kennedy wrote these words, government spending has risen to nearly 24 per cent of GNP. "The next time Mr. Buckley feels the urge to shoot from the hip on economic issues and tax reform," said the Senator, "I hope he'll lie down until it passes, or at least check with a responsible economist." If Senator Kennedy and his supporters had lain down since writing these words, instead of voting, we might today have a responsible economy. □

## ESCALATION OVER DARTMOUTH

*New York*, June 22—A good deal has been written, much of it very witty, about the strange events at Dartmouth College. And now Mr. William Raspberry, a respected black columnist with the *Washington Post*, is trying to escalate. The background:

At Dartmouth, a couple of years ago, a small band of conservative dissidents met to launch a newspaper to challenge some of the paunchy liberal orthodoxies, many of them endemic on the academic scene (for instance, that black students, while seeking an integrated America, are at liberty to enforce segregation on the campuses); one or two particular to Dartmouth (for instance, that any use of the traditional totemic Indian figure is ethnically invidious). *The Dartmouth Review* was born high-spirited, and high spirits inevitably open up the question of the line that distinguishes between what is and what isn't tasteful. That such a line does exist I have always believed. But that it can be described with Euclidean certitude is ludicrous. The critics of *The Dartmouth Review*, which at this point include 113 out of the 118 members of the Dartmouth faculty, would shriek with horror at the thought of telling us where to draw the line that distinguishes artistic freedom from pornography. But they are happy to condemn *The Dartmouth Review*.

Mort Sahl, the comedian, discovered something in the early Sixties of enduring social interest. He had made a reputation as a humorist (cover of *Time* mag—the whole bit) with his biting criticisms of Eisenhower and his Administration. Along came King Kennedy, and Mort Sahl moved his iconoclastic act routinely over to the incumbent. But suddenly, he said, nobody thought he was funny any longer. One thing to be funny about a conservative President. Entirely something else to expect people to laugh at the expense of the gallant young liberal. It is quite simply inconceivable that a vote of censure by the faculty of Dartmouth College against a liberal, radical, or black counterpart of *The Dartmouth Review* would have been solicited, let alone passed.

The proximate cause of all this fuss is an encounter between a founding editor of *The Dartmouth Review*, and the (black) associate director of the alumni fund. The student was delivering that week's shipment of the paper when the director lunged at him, and actually bit him. B-I-T-E—as in *David Copperfield*. The student went to the infirmary and got treated for tetanus, though he might better have been treated for rabies. The student then registered a formal complaint against the director, the director pleaded nolo contendere in court, was found guilty, and fined a couple of hundred bucks, thus activating the faculty. To censure the director? Great Heavens no: to censure *The Dartmouth Review*.

Now, THE escalation I speak of, ever so anfractuously hinted at by Mr. Raspberry, is as follows. The father of the student in question is Jeffrey Hart, a professor of English at Dartmouth, a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, a syndicated national columnist, and a sometime speechwriter for Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. Professor Hart has been nominated for a position on the National Council on the Humanities. Hart is, quite simply, one of the liveliest minds in town, a vigorous conservative, and an informal faculty advisor for *The Dartmouth Review*. This doesn't mean that he edits the paper, or that he would himself have published everything that the paper has published. But as the outgoing editor points out, of the 1,100 articles published during its lifetime, only four or five have been singled out for criticism, most conspicuously a lampoon written in black English, deriding affirmative action and cultural separatism, which no one would have noticed if its equivalent had been published to ridicule oh, say, the white power structure, or American imperialism, or the military-industrial complex. If we read the situation right, the free-speech lobby is maneuvering to do to Jeffrey Hart what they did to Ernest Lefever. Let me tell you, if they do, there's going to be the hottest show in town since Sacco and Vanzetti, and it isn't Hart who will go to the chair. □

**(Universal Press Syndicate)**



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# Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

## DEFINITIONS

A. Goods of weight — 20 164 201 79 82 148 140 9 39 99 / 112

B. An official who certifies writings to make them authentic — 63 37 55 64 66 71 106 136 149 155 / 194 15

C. Permissible — 34 57 86 60 190 78 70 100 180

D. A secondary county official — 50 52 93 117 122 161 175 193 10 19 / 95 128 196

E. Of or relating to words or phraseology — 84 183 68 143 135 40 58 105 172

F. A river that flows into the Caspian Sea — 158 186 137 16 3

G. A best-seller based on the question "What would Jesus do?" — 200 14 27 111 2 124 168 170 46 145

H. A Dutch town close to the confluence of the Maas and Schwalm Rivers — 88 138 69 91

I. A fearful veneration — 1 33 42

J. When the ghost walks on a Communist holiday — 181 48 35 132 139 6 189 146 59 177 / 198 169

K. A thoroughfare in New York City — 7 174 153 179 182 191 22 26 51 96 / 107 120 127 131 144

L. An American critic and poetess (1869-1948) — 41 12 36 18 28 5 103 156 43 118 / 123

M. A real number that is not expressible as the quotient of two integers — 67 11 25 121 171 109 45 166 74 54

N. A musician's baby knows how to say "Bye-bye!" — 102 116 76 38 163 192 173

O. What a disabled person may have plenty of — 4 29 62 80 87 98 134

P. A historical river in south Texas — 147 90 150 141 30 154

Q. He killed the Chimera — 133 13 23 53 56 73 92 187 108 167 / 195

R. Dissimilar — 188 202 101 151 184 85

S. TEXT TEES (anagram) — 31 89 8 81 119 72 199 176

T. CREATED TIN (anagram) — 75 49 65 24 77 83 115 178 185 17

U. The portico of an ancient church — 152 125 142 32 159 94 130

V. A Swiss mathematician (1707-1783) — 165 61 197 104 44

W. The president of the Philadelphia A.L. baseball club (1866-1936) — 97 162 129 113 47

X. To veer — 110 157 114 126 21 160

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 852 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

| | | | | | 1 I | 2 G | 3 F | | 4 O | 5 L | 6 J | | 7 K | 8 S | 9 A | 10 D | 11 M | 12 L | 13 Q |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 G | 15 B | 16 F | 17 T | | 18 L | 19 D | 20 A | 21 X | 22 K | 23 Q | 24 T | 25 M | | 26 K | 27 G | 28 L | | 29 O | 30 P |
| 31 S | 32 U | | 33 I | 34 C | 35 J | | 36 L | 37 B | | 38 N | 39 A | 40 E | 41 L | | 42 I | 43 L | 44 V | 45 M | 46 G |
| 47 W | | 48 J | 49 T | 50 D | | 51 K | 52 D | 53 Q | 54 M | | 55 B | 56 Q | 57 C | 58 E | | 59 J | 60 C | 61 V | |
| 62 O | 63 B | | 64 B | | 65 T | 66 B | 67 M | 68 E | 69 H | | 70 C | 71 B | | 72 S | 73 Q | 74 M | 75 T | 76 N | |
| 77 T | 78 C | 79 A | 80 O | | 81 S | 82 A | 83 T | 84 E | 85 R | 86 C | | 87 O | 88 H | | 89 S | 90 P | 91 H | 92 Q | 93 D |
| 94 U | | 95 D | 96 K | | 97 W | 98 O | 99 A | 100C | 101R | | 102N | 103L | 104V | 105E | 106B | | 107K | 108Q | 109M |
| 110X | | 111G | 112A | | 113W | 114X | 115T | 116N | 117D | 118L | 119S | | 120K | 121M | 122D | 123L | 124G | | 125U |
| 126X | 127K | | 128D | 129W | 130U | 131K | 132J | | 133Q | 134Q | | 135E | 136B | 137F | 138H | 139J | 140A | 141P | 142U |
| 143E | 144K | 145G | | 146J | 147P | 148A | | 149B | 150P | 151R | 152U | 153K | | 154P | 155B | 156L | 157X | | 158F |
| 159U | 160X | 161D | | 162W | 163N | 164A | 165V | | 166M | 167Q | 168G | | 169J | 170G | 171M | | 172E | 173N | 174K |
| 175D | 176S | 177J | | 178T | 179K | 180C | 181J | | 182K | 183E | | 184R | 185T | 186F | 187Q | | 188R | 189J | |
| 190C | 191K | 192N | 193D | | 194B | 195Q | 196D | 197V | 198J | 199S | 200G | 201A | 202R | | | | | | |



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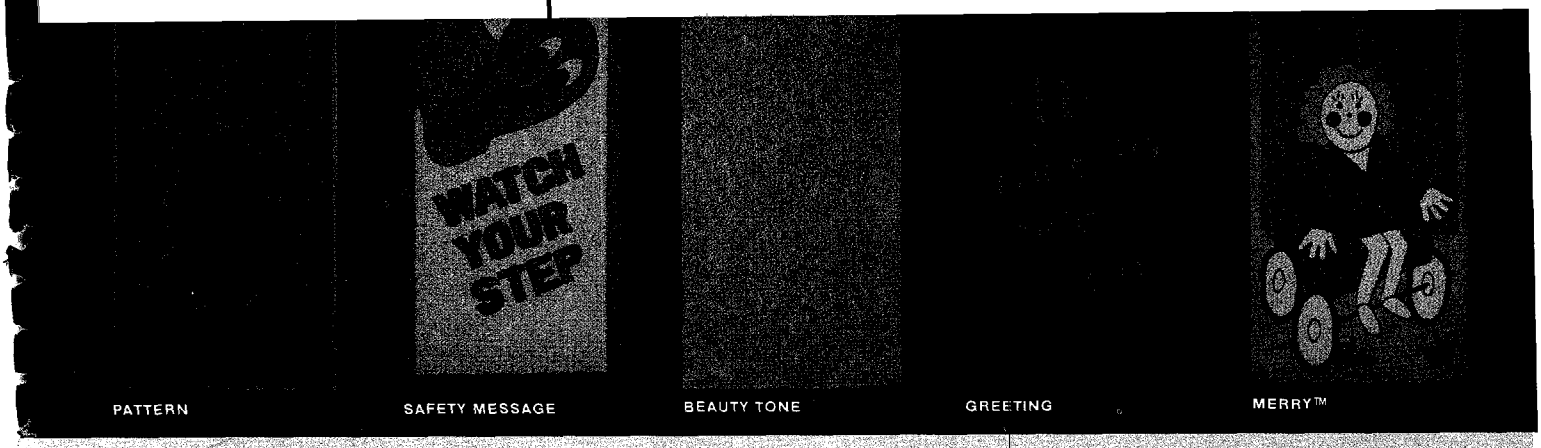


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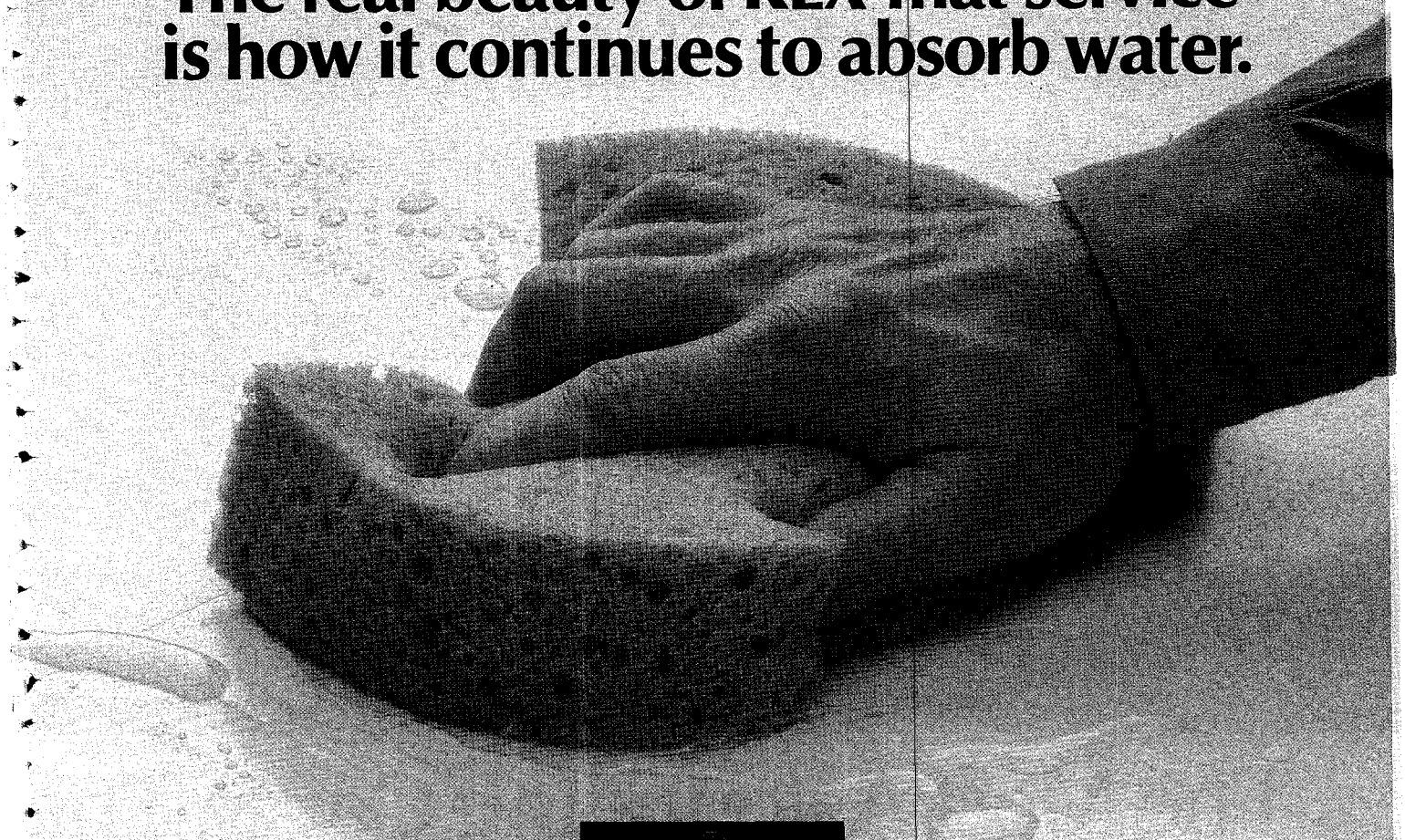

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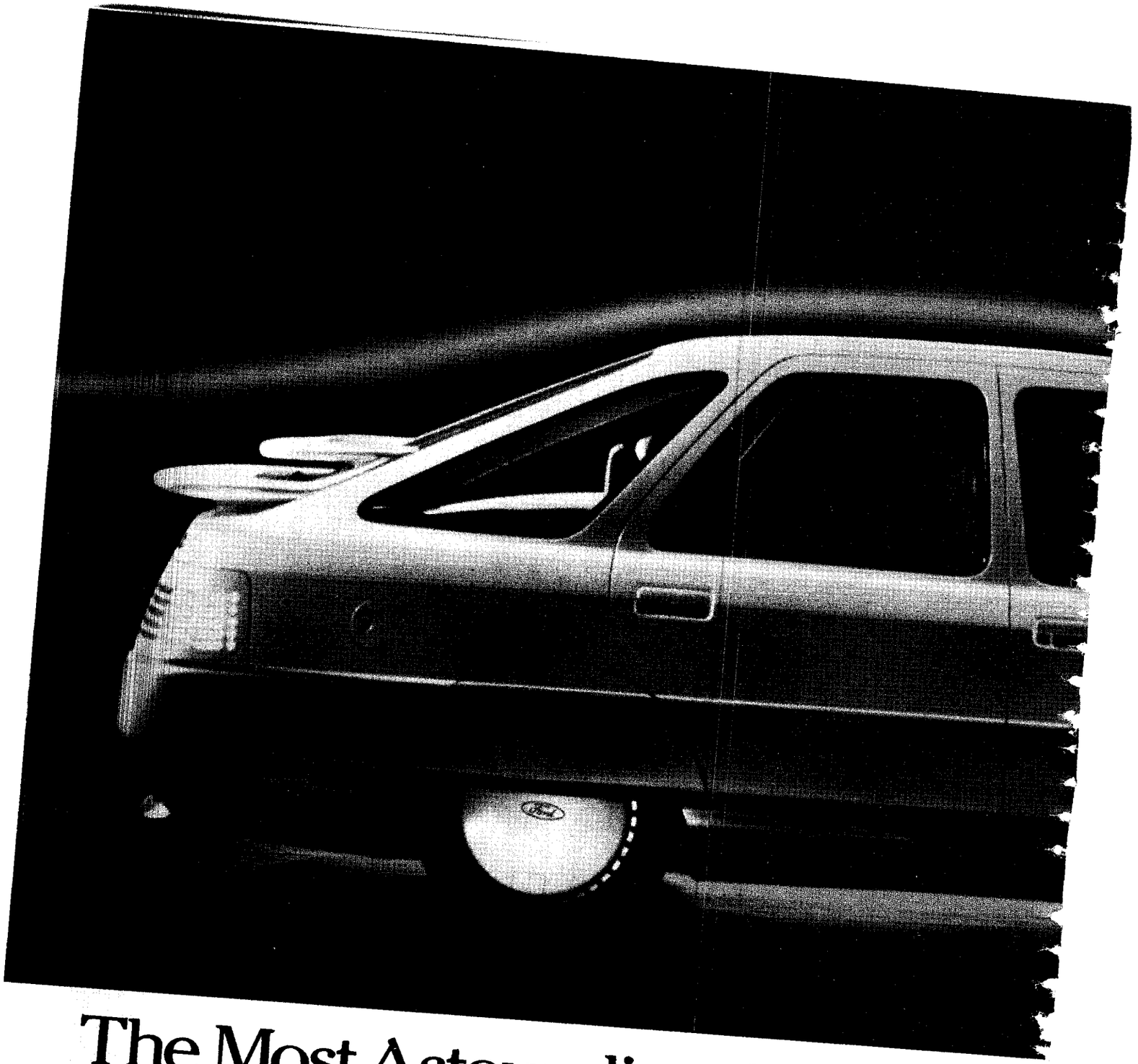

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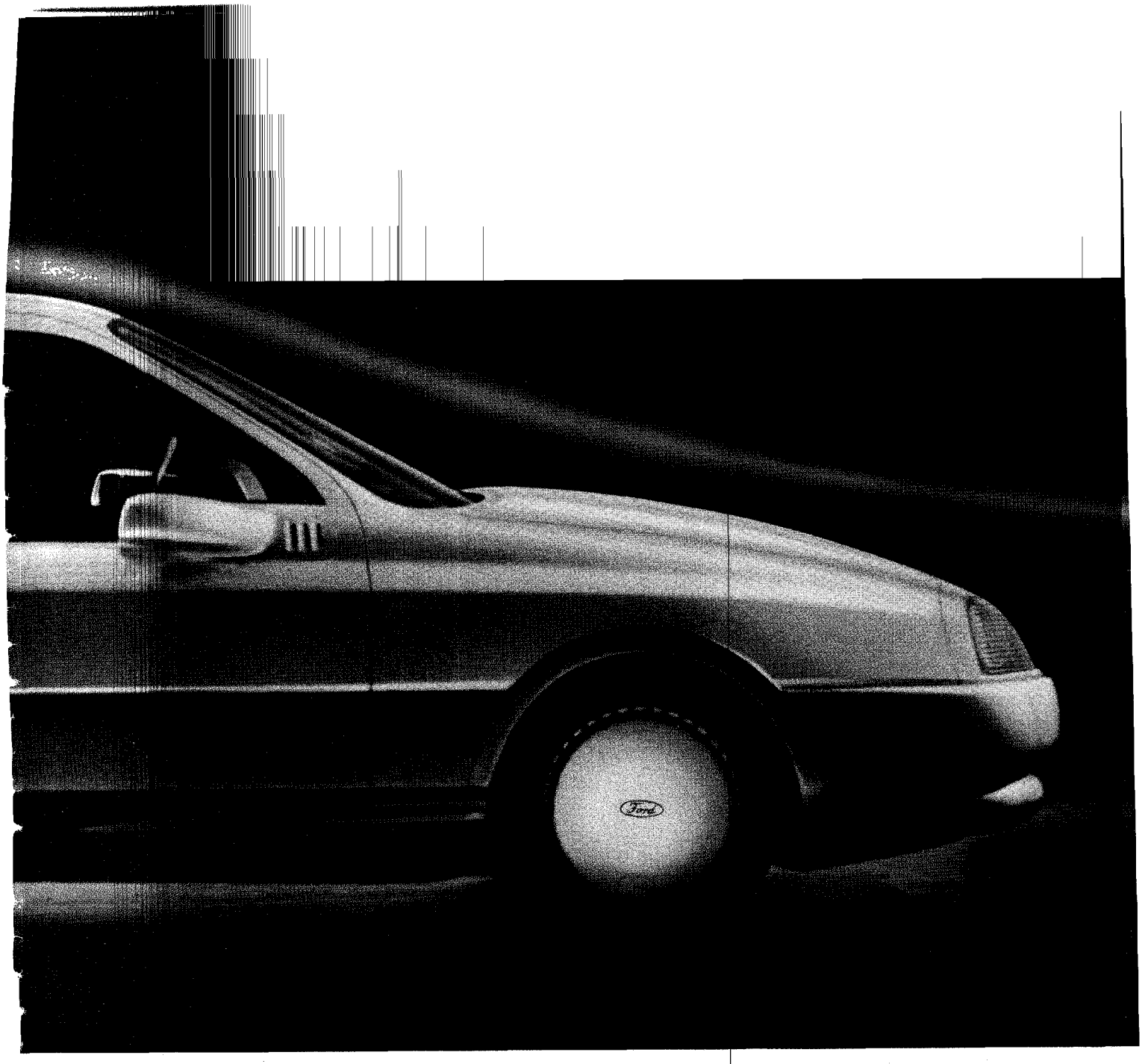

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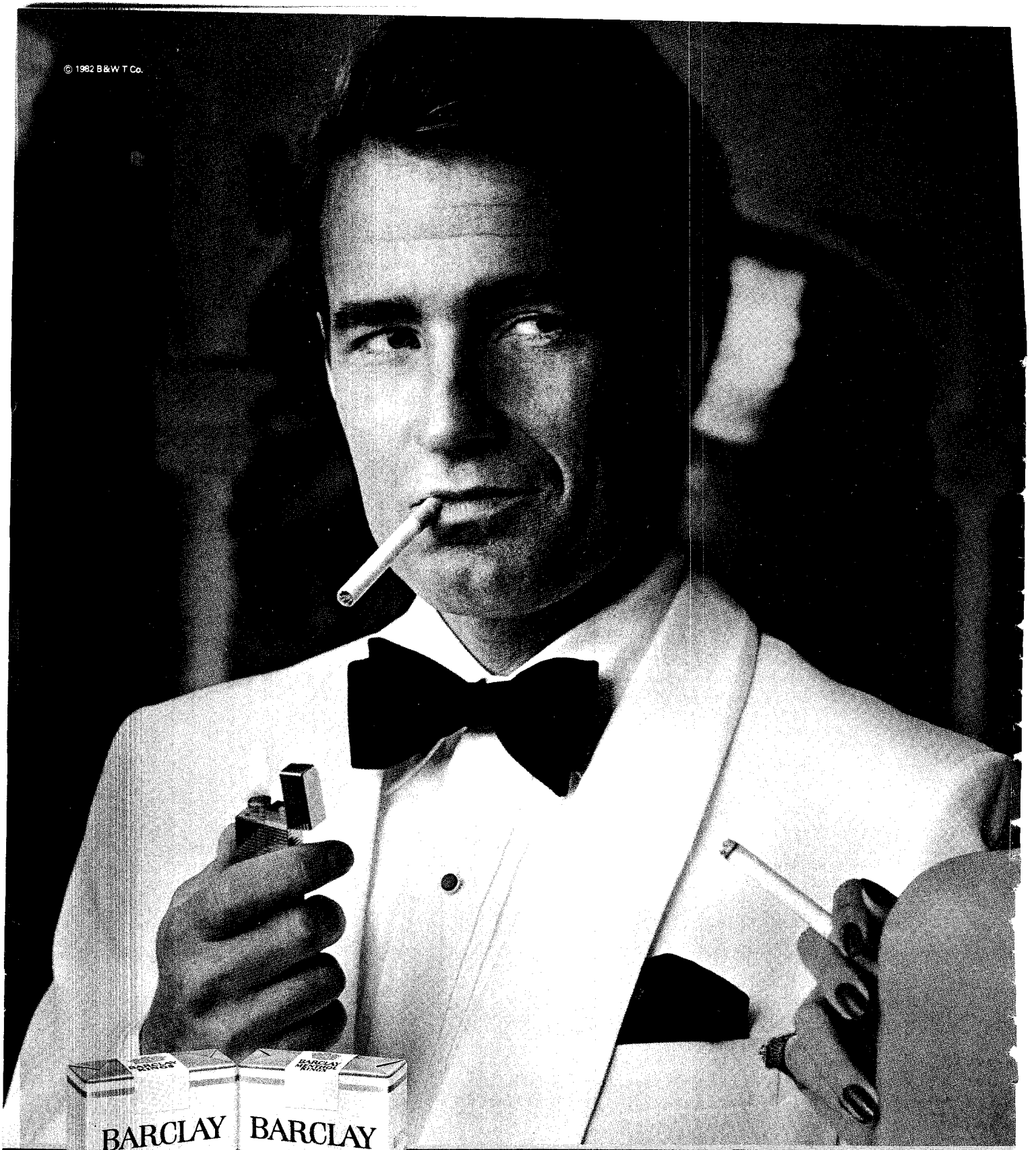

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